

**Singing to Remember, Singing to Heal:
Ts'msyen Music in Public Schools**

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Abstract

The Ts'msyen¹ Nation of the Terrace area of northern British Columbia has a rich cultural tradition that is not adequately represented in local public school music curricula, despite the support of government policy documents and First Nations organizations for such representation, and despite the significant proportion of First Nations students in the school district. This study seeks to develop resources for music teaching that reflect local Ts'msyen culture, heritage and language, in a manner consistent with Ts'msyen culture and protocol. The study consists of interviews with six Ts'msyen elders to determine their views about (1) the advisability of including Ts'msyen music in public schools; (2) protocol for the use of Ts'msyen music in schools; (3) ideas and material for presenting Ts'msyen music in schools. Finally, I examine other cultural information provided in the interviews and present teaching material that conforms to the guidelines that emerged from the study.

¹ The spelling "Tsimshian" was the accepted spelling from the time Franz Boas published his *Tsimshian Texts* in 1902 until recently. Currently, "Ts'msyen" is the spelling accepted by the Ts'msyen Sm'algyax Language Authority (Anderson, 2006, p. 29).

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List of Audio-Visual Materials

1. *Two Whale Stories* DVD (courtesy of Chris Cain).....Inside Back Cover

Glossary

Adaawx: True history; true telling; Ts'msyen oral narratives that recount Ts'msyen history, including creation origins. The Adaawx transmit rules for living, or Ayaawx.

Ayaawx: Laws, customs, and rules for living

Ganhada: Raven; one of the four crests, or pdeex

Gisbutwada: Killer whale; one of the four crests, or pdeex

Laxgibuu: Wolf; one of the four crests, or pdeex

Laxsgiik: Eagle; one of the four crests, or pdeex

Liimi: Song (noun) or sing (verb)

Liimk'ooy: Funeral song; mourning song

Pdeex: Crest or phratry

Sm'algyax: The language of the Ts'msyen people

Sm'ooygit: Chief

Waap: House group

Waay Wah: An all-purpose phrase often used to begin a comment, meaning variously: all right, okay, well now.

Wil'naat'ał: Clan; lineage.

Wuwaap: Plural of waap

Yaawk: feast, potlatch

Pronunciation Guide

For a complete guide, please see the *Smalgyax Dictionary* (2001), or *Visible Grammar: Ts'msyen Sm'algyax Grammar Resources* (2008), both published by the Ts'msyen Sm'algyax Authority. The following basic pronunciations and examples are taken from these two sources.

aa: long a, as in *baa*

aw: ow, as in *now*

aaw: long a, followed by w.

dz: As in the English *kids*

g: Back g sound; made with the back of the tongue close to the throat.

ii: Long i sound, as in the English *machine*.

k': "pronounced by forming a *k* and closing the vocal cords simultaneously, releasing the glottal closure with the *k*" (2008, p. 20).

‘l: "hard l" or "stop l" (2008, p. 23). *l* sound begun with a glottal closure.

ɬ: The tongue is located "in the same position as English *t* but air is released around the sides of the tongue (similar to the hissing release of air in an *s* sound)" (2008, p. 23).

‘n: Hard *n*, or stop *n*; sound is made by simultaneously closing the vocal cords and forming an English *n* sound.

oo: As in the English *oat*.

ts: As in the English *bats*.

ü: Similar to vowel sound in English *boot*, but spoken with lips unrounded and tense.

üü: "Long version of Sm'algyax *ü*" (2001, p. xiii).

‘ indicates a glottal stop, made by closing the throat as in *uh-oh*.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Ts'msyen people of Kitsumkalum and Gitselasu (Kitselas).

Acknowledgements

It took a community to complete this thesis. Thanks, first, to my cheering squad, Bruce, Aaron, and Julia, for their loving and unwavering support. Mildred Roberts' contributions, collaboration, and friendship made the project possible and enjoyable. I am indebted to her, and to all the other study participants—Don Wells, Debbie Moore, Lorna Johnson, Melodie Johnson, and Charlotte Guno—for their wisdom, patience, kindness, and generosity. Sue Spalding and Charlotte Guno's passionate belief in the importance of remembering songs and stories helped me to persist and connect with the right people. Don Roberts shared his extraordinary story about the baby whale and granted permission for future generations to perform and enjoy it. Melodie Johnson's artistic, linguistic and musical gifts helped bring *Two Whale Stories* into being.

Many thanks to my supervisors, Margaret Anderson and Judith Lapadat, for their support, encouragement, and thoughtful editing, and to committee member Jim McDonald for his unfailing generosity in sharing resources and offering kindly advice. I could always count on Patricia Vickers for honest and thoughtful input. Maureen Atkinson opened her impressive personal library to me and obligingly commiserated when needed. John Dunn introduced me to the beautiful poetry of adaawx. Chris Cain, of Raising Cain Productions, donated his time and talent in filming and editing the *Two Whale Stories* video. Judy McCloskey, photographer *extraordinaire*, generously came to take pictures on very short

notice. Joan Billey's enthusiastic classroom support for the *Two Whale Stories* project made its performance possible, and Mary Ann Kenna contributed a number of excellent ideas.

Thanks to my enormously talented sister, Laura Spitzer, for verifying my song transcriptions and for being my sis; to my lifelong friend Molly Eichar, who helped me find the seed of this idea; to Nancy and Joe, Mary, Eberle, Joan, Cheri and Noel, Judy, Fiona, Brenda G., and Brenda S., for their friendship and interest; and to my teaching colleagues at Thornhill Primary and Thornhill Elementary for their support and encouragement.

I am grateful to SSHRC for a summer grant that purchased music writing software and a digital recorder, and assisted with interview payments.

And finally, thanks to my students, for whom this material was designed, and whose enthusiastic response continues to convince me that it was the right thing to do.

Chapter One: Introduction

“If we’re not singing, we’re not remembering.”

The Ts’msyen people of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas, in the Terrace area of northwestern British Columbia, have a rich and vital cultural tradition that has evolved over millennia. Cultural performance, which includes singing, drumming, dancing, drama, and the wearing of regalia, is an integral aspect of their cultural tradition. These traditions have survived over a century of colonial oppression and cultural disruption.

Since repressive government policies were abolished thirty years ago, both Aboriginal² groups and government commissions have expressed the need to revitalize traditional culture by including First Nations content in public school curriculum. In many subject areas—especially visual arts, language arts, and social studies—this need is being filled. However, Ts’msyen music has seldom found its way into local school curricula.³

As an elementary school music specialist in the Terrace area, I have often wondered how to include Ts’msyen music in my classroom in a respectful and culturally appropriate manner, while honouring cultural context. It seems ironic that indigenous and folk resources from nearly every continent and culture, except the one in which I live, are readily available.

² The term “Aboriginal” is the legal term used to denote the first people of Canada and their descendants. The phrase “First Nations” replaced the term “Indian,” which some found objectionable, in the 1970s. While “First Nations” is in common use, it has no legal definition (Assembly of First Nations, 2009).

³ The printed Ts’msyen elementary school music resources I have located include traditional English songs translated into Sm’algyax in the Prince Rupert School District’s Sm’algyax language resource, an Alaskan resource called *How Raven Stole the Sun*, and *The Pacific Northwest Coast Indians: Music, Instruments, Legends* by Buchanan and Davies, all of which are based on the music of the coastal Ts’msyen.

Approximately thirty-five percent of the students I teach are of First Nations descent (Coast Mountain School District 82, 2009), and their cultures should be well represented in my curriculum. On several occasions, I have utilized the services of First Nations role models through the schools district's First Nations Education Centre Role Model Program. This program enables elders to come into the classroom and share their traditional knowledge. My students' enthusiasm for the songs and dances they learn from role models continues to strengthen my belief about the value of teaching traditional material—songs in Sm'algyax, drumming, dancing and storytelling.

Elders and role models are the first and best resources for learning traditional music. However, role models who are able to teach Ts'msyen music and cultural performance are not always available, and many of the elders who hold and transmit traditional knowledge are getting on in years. Several community leaders have voiced their concern that those songs and stories could eventually be lost if steps are not taken to revive them. Because of their proximity to the city of Terrace, the young people living in Kitselas and Kitsumkalum seem to be assimilated into mainstream culture in many ways. Few speak Sm'algyax, the Ts'msyen language, and many have not learned elders' songs and stories (Spalding, personal communication, July 25, 2005, and Roberts, interview, July 9, 2007). I hope that the material presented in this thesis will be of use in helping to preserve common property songs⁴ and stories that might otherwise be lost in another generation.

The preservation of language and culture go hand in hand. While the loss of language devastates a culture, a starting point for revitalizing a culture can be children relearning their heritage language. In *Our Children: Keepers of the Sacred Knowledge*, the federal

⁴ Common property songs, discussed in detail on page 37, are songs not owned by individuals or Houses.

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs asserts that “language is by far the most significant factor in the survival of Indigenous knowledge...Aboriginal languages are irreplaceable resources in any educational reform” (2002, p. 18). Only twenty-nine percent of all First Nations individuals in Canada speak one of the sixty recorded Aboriginal languages (Statistics Canada, 2008). Considering that nearly half of First Nations individuals are under the age of twenty-four (Statistics Canada, 2008), the idea of Aboriginal children learning their native languages takes on even greater urgency. Cultural performance, including song in which language is embedded, is an ideal vehicle for teaching language. As Vera Dudoward, a Kitsumkalum elder, puts it: “If we’re not singing, we’re not remembering” (personal communication, February 2006).

Singing can contribute in a powerful way to learning language. Music plays an important role in promoting human cognitive development, allowing the developing brain to perceive speech patterns in new ways and in varying contexts (Levitin, 2006, p. 260-1). Some educators are beginning to use singing-based programs to teach language and literacy, because the rhythms of language are more compelling, and engage the brain more completely, when they are sung or chanted than when they are spoken⁵. Singing enhances and accentuates the rhythms of speech. Elder Margaret Paul, of the Passmoquady Nation, points out, “through singing...that’s how I think you can reach young kids, is through songs, through dancing, through singing. I mean, you can’t reach them by talking and talking...” (Kulchyski, McCaskill & Newhouse, 1999, p. 10). Debbie Moore, Kitselas elder and the

⁵I am aware of two singing-based language programs that are currently being used in public schools: the Canadian resource Singing English (<http://www.singingenglish.com>), and the American program called Indigenous Folksong Reading Program (<http://www.educyberpg.com/pdf/IndigenousFolksongReadingCur.pdf>).

Band Education Coordinator, believes, “Through song and dance groups, you could learn the language a lot easier” (personal communication, July 31, 2007). We learn a language, in part, by experiencing its rhythms and cadences.

When language comes to life through song, movement helps bring songs to their fullest expression. In Ts’msyen culture, singing, dancing and drumming are all inseparable, essential components of cultural performance. My training as a music teacher includes certification in the Orff-Schulwerk pedagogical method, which uses elemental song, dance and movement, drawn from both local and world traditions, to reach the whole child and all learning styles. Ts’msyen cultural performance fits well with Orff curriculum. Paylig Juniper writes, “... Orff’s ‘music for children’ philosophy strongly reflects the holistic nature, powerful rhythms, and inherent creativity exhibited in Aboriginal cultural performance” (2000, p. 44). Both Orff-Schulwerk teaching and First Nations cultural performance emphasize the unity of rhythm, speech, singing, and movement, and both value the creativity of the individual. In harmony with Ts’msyen cultural performance, Orff teaching engages children in body, mind, and spirit.

The enthusiasm and joy shown by students who participate in cultural performance is the best evidence of its value. Over and over, I have observed the positive effects on students of presenting traditional Ts’msyen songs and dances in a respectful way in a music classroom. For Aboriginal students, this inclusion gives a visible sense of pride. Involving the whole community in education can play a significant role in creating pride through cultural reconnection, especially with young children. Jessica Ball (2004), teaching at the University of Victoria, calls this process Generative Curriculum Development, and has

pioneered the idea in creating Early Childhood Education programs throughout Western Canada. Ball writes:

First Nations leaders have linked improvement of developmental conditions for children to the reconstruction of their cultural identity, revitalization of intergenerational transmission of culture and traditional language, and reproduction of culturally distinctive values and practices in programs for children and youth (2004, p. 455).

In the Generative Curriculum Development model, elders are asked for their input and advice in curriculum design and in creating ideal classroom conditions that foster learning for First Nations children. As I researched and developed the classroom plans in this thesis, I worked with elders in co-writing the lesson plans and classroom material.

Related to the idea of Generative Curriculum Development is the concept of culturally responsive teaching, which began to develop in the 1980s when multicultural education was becoming a national goal. In a synthesis of many theorists' writings on the subject, Phuntsog (1998) wrote that culturally responsive teachers need to possess cultural understanding; the ability to examine their own attitudes and beliefs; nurturing and inclusiveness in classrooms; respect for diversity; and a curriculum that promotes social change through critical thinking (in Pewewardy et al, 2003, p. 2). I hope that in writing this thesis and developing these teaching resources, I can play a part in helping other teachers meet these goals.

In summary, my goals in writing this thesis were to investigate the history of Ts'msyen music, the many roles it has historically played in Ts'msyen life, and its cultural importance, including the links between language and culture. I reviewed educational theory concerning the inclusion of First Nations content, and ways of teaching that are in harmony with Aboriginal ways of knowing.

I spoke to six Ts'msyen elders about the role of Ts'msyen music and cultural performance in the classroom. I asked them whether the inclusion of such material is a good idea, and if so, how they envision it: what protocols should be observed, what material is acceptable, and how they feel it should be taught. I compiled their thoughts, ideas and comments into a set of guidelines for including Ts'msyen music in public schools. Finally, I transcribed several songs suitable for use in classrooms, and together with elders Mildred Roberts and Melodie Johnson, developed a performance piece called "Two Whale Stories."

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Marie Battiste (2002) points out that there is a built-in contradiction when one attempts a literature review, within a Eurocentric knowledge system, about First Nations culture:

In the context of Indigenous knowledge...a literature review is an oxymoron because indigenous knowledge is typically embedded in the cumulative experiences and teachings of Indigenous peoples rather than in a library...Conducting a literature review on Indigenous knowledge implies that Eurocentric research can reveal an understanding of Indigenous knowledge ...Indigenous knowledge does not mirror classic Eurocentric orders of life...and there are limits to how far it can be comprehended from a Eurocentric point of view (p.2).

However, she notes, literature that attempts to interpret First Nations knowledge and pedagogy “does exist, although it is limited in scope and depth” (p. 2). Such literature can help educators and policy makers begin to understand the reforms that are needed and why they are important. I begin this review of relevant literature with an awareness of these limitations.

Historical Background

The Ts’msyen people of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas, the only non-coastal Ts’msyen peoples, are sometimes called the “Canyon Ts’msyen” (Anderson, personal communication, September 2006), or the “Freshwater Ts’msyen” (McDonald, 2003, p. 7). Considered sister communities, they are both located at or near canyons of the Skeena River or its tributaries. William Beynon wrote that “The Kitsumkalum...were very closely associated with the Kitselas, more so when all of the other Sm’algyax-speaking people moved and made their more permanent villages on the coast” (Beynon in McDonald, 2003, p. 13).

Kitsumkalum history predates written records by thousands of years. McDonald (2003) writes, “the history of the Kitsumkalum people reaches back into times so long ago we hardly comprehend the amount of time involved—this is time immemorial” (p. 27). Ts’msyen adaawx relate “ancient accounts of primordial origin” (Marsden et al, p. 266). Oral history, corroborated by archeological and geological findings, indicates that there were two periods of migration into the area the Ts’msyen now inhabit. The first era took place in a post-glacial period, and saw migration “from the northeast, southwest, and southeast. The second period, thousands of years later, brought “extensive migration from the north, along the coast, and from the interior down the rivers (Marsden et al, p. 266).

Oral history relates that Kitsumkalum was first settled by Nisgeel, a Laxsgiik (Eagle clan) chief (McDonald, 2003, p. 28). Nisgeel eventually settled “at the canyon of the Kitsumkalum River, about five miles north of the Skeena” (Łagaax in McDonald, 2003, 29). Other clans soon followed him, and he was also eventually joined there by the people of Gitxondakł, a town that had been located “between the canyon and Kitsumkalum Lake” (33). The site where he and his community settled, on the Kitsumkalum canyon, was the ancient town called Dalk Gyilakyaw, or Robin Town. For uncounted years, Dalk Gyilakyaw was a thriving village with excellent access to fish, water, wild game, edible plants and berries.

The advent of colonialism brought an abrupt end to this way of life. McDonald describes this time of upheaval:

A short period of rapid change occurred with the opening of canneries and other features of global society, and the adoption by the Tsimshian of the new economy and their incorporation into the emerging social order. By the start of the 20th century, the Indian Reserve system was in place and settlement and industry were encroaching on the homelands of both Gits’ilaasu and Kitsumkalum. In both cases, the communities experienced a

powerful transformation in a matter of a lifetime and their ancient settlements on the canyons were deserted in favour of other locales. (2006, www.livinglandscapes.bc.ca).

The inhabitants of Dalk Gyilakyaw abandoned the village in the late 1800s and dispersed to several other areas. Some relocated further down the river near its confluence with the Skeena, the site of present-day Kitsumkalum; others went to Port Essington, a cannery town near the mouth of the Skeena, and still others moved to Kitselas or other nearby Ts'msyen villages (McDonald, 2006, www.livinglandscapes.bc.ca).

The history of Kitselas, or Gits'ilaasu ("people of the canyon"), shows similar patterns of settlement, diaspora, and resettlement. According to oral history and archeological evidence, people inhabited five separate village sites at the Kitselas Canyon for five thousand years or more (Berthiaume, 1999, pp. 12-13). Like Dalk Gyilakyaw, these villages flourished because they were rich in natural resources, containing all five species of salmon, trout, wild game, berries, edible plants, trees, and plentiful water.

As it had for the people of Dalk Gyilakyaw, the colonial period brought rapid and cataclysmic changes to Gits'ilaasu. The colonial presence meant increased commerce; by the late 1800s, the Ts'msyen people had begun fully participating in the Euro-Canadian economy through fur trade, commercial fishing, and river transportation. However, with increased contact also came disease epidemics and greater competition for resources. The residents of Kitselas Canyon began to relocate to various sites. The last two settlements to remain occupied were Gitlaxdzawk and Gitsaex, and these were abandoned between 1866 and 1879, around the time of the exodus from Dalk Gyilakyaw (Berthiaume, 1999, p. 89; McDonald, 2003, p. 30).

Some of the residents of Gitlaxdzawk and Gitsaex moved to an area called Endudoon, also called New Town, which later came to be called New Kitselas—not to be confused with the settler town of Kitselas⁶. Endudoon was a reserve created in the early 1900s (kitselas.bc.ca/reserves.htm) “on the north side of the Skeena River, about six kilometers downriver from Kitselas Canyon” (Berthiaume, p. 89). Some former residents of Dalk Gyilakyaw moved to Port Essington to work in the canneries or in the commercial fishing industry (McDonald, 2006). Three reserves had been allocated to Kitsumkalum by the government in 1891 (McDonald, 1990, p. 59), and when Endudoon burned down in 1957, some of its former residents moved to the reserve sites. When the railway line was completed, and as the supply of nearby fish dwindled (Large, 1996, p. 48), Port Essington’s economic importance began to diminish. A fire destroyed much of Port Essington in 1961, and most of its remaining residents returned to the Terrace area. Today, the residents of Kitselas and Kitsumkalum live primarily at five reserve sites. The Kitselas people live at either Gitaus, six kilometers east of Terrace, at Endudoon, or at Kulspai, on the Skeena River near the outskirts of Terrace. Kitsumkalum residents live on two reserve parcels, Kalum and Zimacord, five kilometers west of Terrace. Many Kitsumkalum and Kitselas people also live off reserve, in Terrace and other communities.

⁶The town of Kitselas—not to be confused with New Kitselas—was a settler town whose economy was based on river and railway commerce. It was “built on top of the ancient Gitselasu village of Gitaus” (Berthiaume, 1999, p. 89) and thrived from 1891 to 1912.

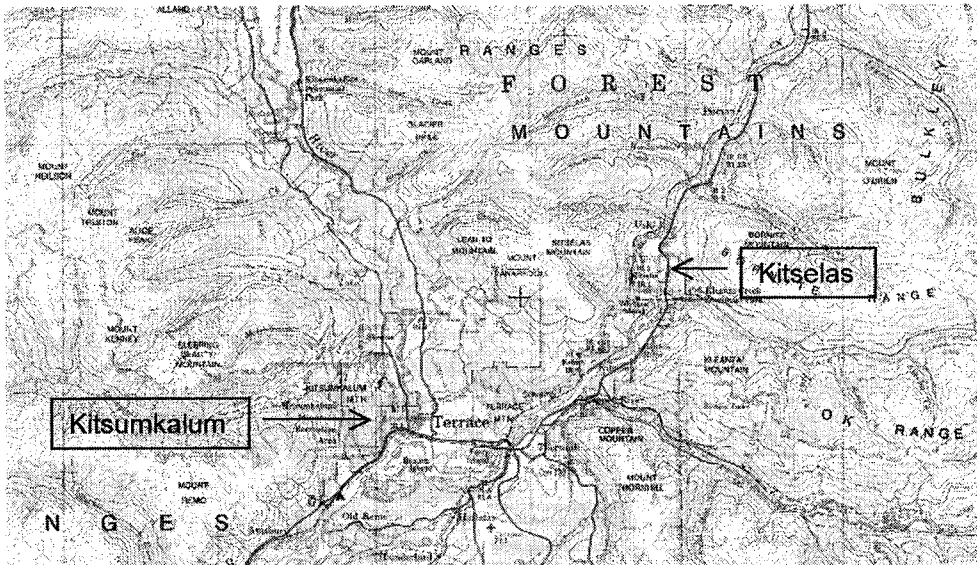


Figure 1: Kitsumkalum and Kitselas in relation to Terrace (courtesy of Kitsumkalum Band)

Along with economic and geographic changes, colonization brought catastrophic social upheaval: systemic racism, discrimination, and forced assimilation. As scholars Barman, Hebert and McCaskill have shown, European policy “assumed the superiority of their culture over that of any Aboriginal peoples” (p. 22) from the time of their arrival in Canada four centuries ago. This paternalism was enshrined in the British North America Act, which made Aboriginal people wards of the federal government. From the time of their arrival in northwestern British Columbia one hundred and fifty years ago, British colonialists gradually began to take over land ownership and establish governance over First Nations. Early settlers and industrialists were eager to see Indigenous peoples removed to reserves, so that they could claim the best lands.

Meanwhile, missionaries sought to convert First Nations to Christianity in order to “civilize” them. However, although the missionaries’ zeal was undeniably rooted in a conviction of superiority, the spirituality inherent in Ts’msyen culture was in harmony with

Christianity in important ways. Neylan points out the elements common to Ts'msyen spirituality and Christianity:

Both were experiential religions, ones that placed individuals in direct contact with nonhuman powers. Both valued transformative religious experiences and marked these spiritual transformations by bestowing new names in special ceremonies (e.g., yaakw, or the feast potlatch context for Tsimshian peoples, and baptismal rites for Christian culture) (2005, p. 91).

The Ts'msyen did not receive the missionaries' teaching passively. With typical enthusiasm and resilience, they adapted Christian teachings to their own culture (p. 95).

Educational History and Policy

Some of the earliest schools attended by the Ts'msyen in northwestern British Columbia were established by missionaries. The Reverend William Duncan⁷ founded Metlakatla, B.C. in 1862. Soon after arriving in Fort Simpson (now Port Simpson, or Lax Kw'alaams) in 1857, he taught children during the day and men at a night school (Murray, 1985, p. 39). Later, he organized the construction of a larger school in Fort Simpson for children and adults. After founding the thriving community of Metlakatla, B.C., he built a school there, serving as schoolmaster, and established a boys' industrial training school there with the help of a small grant from the provincial government (p. 132). When Duncan and his followers migrated to Alaska and founded the village of New Metlakatla, he established a

⁷ William Duncan was a missionary in B.C. and Alaska from 1857 until his death in 1918. He left a missionary post at Fort Simpson (now called Port Simpson, or Lax Kw'alaams) with the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1860s, accompanied by a contingent of Christian Ts'msyens, to found a new settlement in the old village site of Metlakatla, B.C. He established a small town there consisting of a church, schoolhouse, jail, cannery, sawmill, store and boat, where he wielded an enormous amount of power and control. A power struggle between Duncan, the Church of England, and colonial authorities precipitated his leaving Metlakatla, B.C. to start another new village, at New Metlakatla, Alaska, on Annette Island, again with a contingent of his followers (Friesen, 2000).

4,000-square-foot industrial school for boys. The school provided training in “carpentering, gardening, coopering, printing, making furniture and sash, building boats and canoes, blacksmith and tinsmith work, and Indian carving in wood and metal” (Murray, p. 209).

The 1880s saw the construction of several other industrial boarding schools throughout British Columbia. In 1889, the Metlakatla Indian Industrial School, run by the Canadian government, was opened in Metlakatla, B.C. The school provided training for boys, and later for girls, in “practical skills as well as the academics” (Campbell, 2005, P. 123). Skills taught there included carpentry and shoemaking; students also performed much of the manual labour required for maintenance of the facility. However, many parents were reluctant to send their children to the school because they resented the government taking away their lands, and because they wanted to raise their own children rather than sending them away to a boarding school. Enrollment was not high, and a measles epidemic further reduced the number of students, causing the school to close permanently in 1909 (Campbell, 2005, p. 123).

Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby and his wife Emma established a well-known mission boarding school in the region in 1879, the Crosby Girls’ Home. The school’s aim was “to ‘rescue’ orphan girls from liquor and prostitution and to provide a stable setting for girls whose parents could be convinced by Crosby that the girls would be better off in the home” (Bolt, 1989, p. 159). Subjects taught included academics, as well as “breadmaking, laundry work, and housekeeping” (Campbell, 2005, p. 123). As the boys did in industrial schools, the girls performed much of the physical work required to maintain the school. Ultimately, protection of the girls turned to incarceration and confinement as the matrons who worked there sought greater and greater control over the girls’ lives (Hare & Barman,

2006, pp. 217-19). The girls incarcerated there “continued to die from illnesses they lacked the resources to resist,” while many Ts’msyen parents became disaffected with the school and chose to send their children to the public school that opened in 1892, further eroding the Crosby school’s influence (Hare & Barman, p. 240). The Girls’ Home steadily deteriorated both physically and in its degree of influence in the community, until it was finally shut down in 1920.

In 1879, the federal government began establishing residential schools as a matter of policy with the aim of assimilation: eradicating Aboriginal language, culture, and spirituality, and replacing it with the English language, Euro-Canadian culture, and Christian values. The education of children was seen as the most efficient means to that end. Living conditions in many of the newly established, church-run residential schools were horrific. In their comprehensive history *Indian Education in Canada*, Barman, Hebert and McCaskill (1988) report that it has been estimated that, in the early years of residential schools, over fifty percent of children attending these schools died before graduating from them (p. 8). Milloy (1999) also reports this figure, which was attributable to the combination of tuberculosis and other epidemics, substandard living conditions, inadequate medical care, insufficient funding, and mismanagement. Milloy writes, “According to no less an authority than Duncan Campbell Scott [Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932], ‘fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received herein’” (p. 51). Residential schools became even more oppressive after 1910 when federal funding was cut back and missionaries were given the responsibilities for running the schools (Barman et al, p. 8). Even worse than the substandard living conditions was the well-documented physical and sexual abuse that

children experienced. Frequently, children were forbidden to speak their native languages and were beaten, or worse, for doing so (Milloy, 1999; Haig-Brown, 1988; Fournier & Crey, 1998).

For nearly a century, enshrined in public policy, education was used by the federal government as the primary tool of colonization, assimilation, and oppression. Although not every individual who attended residential school had a negative experience, the personal and cultural devastation produced by the residential school system was profound and cannot be underestimated. Verna Kirkness (1992), a Cree scholar and a member of the Order of Canada, wrote:

Generations of Indian children were denied a normal family childhood. They were denied the association with family, with their extended family's perceptions of spiritualism, of acceptable behaviour and of the means for survival. For many, residential schools meant the loss of their Native language, the principal means by which culture is accumulated, shared and transmitted from generation to generation. The result was a tragic interruption of culture. The legacy of the residential schools was one of cultural conflict, alienation, poor self-concept and lack of preparation for independence, for jobs and for life in general (1992).

This tragic chapter in Canadian history is now over. Prime Minister Steven Harper's formal apology to the First Nations of Canada, on June 11, 2008, was the federal government's first official recognition of this national tragedy. The apology reads, in part:

The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian residential schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on aboriginal culture, heritage and language... There is no place in Canada for the attitudes that inspired the Indian residential schools system to ever again prevail... The government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly (Harper, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2008).

Yet the effects of residential schools continue to haunt survivors and their families. Since the 1970s, Aboriginal groups and governments have repeatedly stressed the need to bring closure to this era by making schools more responsive to Aboriginal students' needs. The seminal paper *Indian Control of Indian Education* was published in 1972 by the National Indian Brotherhood in response to Trudeau's White Paper. The White Paper, published in 1969, had advocated ending the federal government's special relationship with First Nations. *Indian Control of Indian Education* stated, "School curricula in federal and provincial/territorial schools should recognize Indian culture, values, customs, languages, and the Indian contribution to Canadian development" (NIB/AFN, 1972, p. 9). The National Indian Brotherhood, later re-named the Assembly of First Nations, reiterated that sentiment in the document *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future*: "First Nations language and cultural studies are an integral part of the school curriculum. It is important that students' cultural identity and language are nurtured" (AFN, 1991). The *Assembly of First Nations Education Action Plan*, published in 2005, again noted the need for "the strengthening of a First Nation's identity through an emphasis on language, cultural and traditional knowledge..." (AFN, 2005, p.3).

Respect for cultural diversity is now an important mandate of both the federal and provincial governments. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* refers to the "preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (1982, article 27). In 1999, the Federal government released the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP)* that charged, "Aboriginal people have been restricted in their efforts to implement curricula that would transmit their linguistic and cultural heritage to the next generation" (Chapter 5, 1.4). The report recommends in part that

Federal, provincial and territorial governments collaborate with Aboriginal governments, organizations and educators to develop or continue developing innovative curricula that reflect Aboriginal cultures and community realities, for delivery at all grade levels of elementary and secondary schools (Appendix A, Vol. 3, 3.5.5).

Indian and Northern Affairs of Canada (INAC) published a response to this report in April 2005. The report detailed a vision of Aboriginal education that included “education grounded in First Nation values, traditions, culture, and languages” (2005, p. 1). The British Columbia government’s 1993 *Multiculturalism Act* states that the government’s policy is to “foster the ability of each British Columbian, regardless of race, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, ancestry or place of origin...in a manner that is consistent with the rights and responsibilities of that individual...” (Government of BC, 1993, Article 3).

Both the federal and provincial governments have endorsed the spirit of this legislation with several publications. A BC Ministry of Education publication, *Diversity in BC Schools: A Framework*, states that the Ministry believes in “school cultures that value diversity and respond to the diverse social and cultural needs of the communities they serve” (Government of B.C., 2004, p. 4). The Ministry of Education’s *Planning Guide and Framework for Development of Aboriginal Learning Resources* provides guidelines and step-by-step instructions for developing First Nations curriculum (Government of B.C., 2006, pp. 9-53). The Ministry’s publication *Shared Learnings: Integrating BC Aboriginal Content K-10* explains that “integration of authentic Aboriginal content into the BC K-10 curriculum with the support of Aboriginal peoples will help to promote understanding of BC Aboriginal peoples among all students” (1998, p.6). Finally, the federal government’s National Working Group on Education document entitled *Our Children: Keepers of the Sacred Knowledge* describes a model First Nations education system that “respects the vision of parents and

elders and reinforces the teaching of language and culture” (2002, p. 9). Federal and provincial governments have come a long way from cultural repression to envisioning inclusion and respect for all cultures, but there remains a long way to go in realizing the governments’ vision.

An Overview of Ts’msyen Music

Aboriginal oral history, both informal and in more formal forms such as *adaawx*, comprises the most authentic and complete record of Ts’msyen history, as it predates European contact by several thousand years. *Adaawx*, defined and discussed in more detail in the section entitled “Song Ownership,” are Ts’msyen narratives that originated long before recorded time, and have been passed down orally from generation to generation. *Adaawx* explain the origin of the world: of crests, natural phenomena, human technology, and migrations. They tell of a time when humans interacted with spirits, and both animals and humans could change their forms. They contain *Ayaawx*, or ancestral laws and spiritual guidance, as well as important historical information about territories and resources (Campbell, 2005, p. 8, and Vickers, 2008, p. 1). *Adaawx* that tell the history of specific House groups are the property of those groups, and cannot be told or used by others without permission.

The earliest written records of Sm’algyax oral traditions, including songs, date from the 1830s, at a time when the first settlers had already arrived on the coast of British Columbia (Cove, 1987, p. 42). The first written transcriptions of Ts’msyen music were made

in the late 1880s and at the turn of the twentieth century, when anthropologist Franz Boas⁸ began collecting a massive body of narratives from the Nass River area, published by the American Bureau of Ethnology in 1902 as *Tsimshian Texts*. Later, Boas collaborated with Ts'msyen informant Henry Tate⁹ who lived in Port Simpson, producing the 1916 *Tsimshian Mythology*, also published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau¹⁰ and Ts'msyen anthropologist William Beynon¹¹ studied Northwest Coast music for several decades, from the early 1900s to the 1950s. Barbeau published over two hundred songs in his 1951 work co-authored by Garfield and Wingert, *The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music*.

Certain problems or ethical issues are now associated with both the Boas/Tate and Barbeau/Beynon transcriptions. By the time Boas arrived on the scene, Ts'msyen culture had already undergone many changes due to colonization. Boas remarked on the strength of

⁸ Franz Boas was the first anthropologist to visit the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. Born in Germany in 1858, he lived and worked in the United States for most of his career, producing a prolific amount of anthropologic and linguistic data on the First Nations of the British Columbia coast and southern interior. He became the curator of the American Museum of Natural History in 1895, and taught at Columbia University from 1896 until the end of his career (Suttles, W. and Jonaitis, A., 1990, pp. 74-77).

⁹ Henry Tate worked as Franz Boas' main Ts'msyen informant and interpreter from 1902 until Tate's death in 1914. Tate lived and worked in Lax Kw'alaams (Port Simpson) (Suttles, W. and Jonaitis, A., 1990, p. 77).

¹⁰ Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) was a French Canadian anthropologist who collected a vast archive of folk songs and narratives from across Canada, focusing on both Quebec and the Tsimshianic people. His career spanned the years from 1911 to the late 1960s (Preston, 1988, p. 177).

¹¹ William Beynon (1888-1958) was born in Victoria to a Ts'msyen mother and a Welsh father. He began his anthropological career in 1915 as Barbeau's main interpreter and informant. After working for Barbeau, he turned to his own research, recording an impressive corpus of Ts'msyen narratives and ethnography, and supplying data to Boas, Barbeau, and others (Suttles, W. and Jonaitis, A., 1990, p. 79).

Christian influences throughout northern British Columbia; many Ts'msyen individuals, including Boas' chief informant, Henry Tate, had converted to Christianity before Boas' arrival in Port Simpson (Maud, 2000, p. 44). Tate, mindful of the huge gulf between the two cultures, "edited the [Tsimshian] texts so as not to offend the sensibilities of white readers" (Cove, 1987, p. 43). Boas was aware of this, and in the preface to *Tsimshian Mythology*, he wrote, "I have...had the personal experience that informants were reluctant to express themselves freely in the traditional form, being impressed by the restrictions of what we call proper and improper" (1916, p. 31).

During Tate's time, the Ts'msyen were actively participating in the Euro-Canadian economy (Cove, 1987, p. 42). Their economy had begun to expand from traditional hunting/gathering and reflected the industrial bent that other parts of the world were experiencing. McDonald points out that "The Tsimshian were also significantly involved in industrial production, manufactures, mercantile enterprises, and wage labour" (1984, p. 41). Port Simpson (Lax Kw'alaams) was a temporary camp until the establishment of a Hudson's Bay Company post there in 1834, after which many people from the villages around Metlakatla Pass moved to Port Simpson permanently (Garfield, 1939, p. 275). Likewise, Port Essington was populated in large part by residents of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas who had moved there during the late 1800s to work in the cannery or in related jobs. Without a doubt, the Tate/Boas narratives are influenced by the Ts'msyen's religious and economic affiliations with colonials (Cove, 1987, p. 42).

In addition to the issue of how thoroughly Ts'msyen culture had changed by Boas's time, there were also certain problems with Boas's methodology, which some historians believe have affected the veracity of his transcriptions (Barbeau, 1917, and Maud, 2000).

Barbeau pointed out that Henry Tate, Boas' chief informant, transcribed the adaawx from memory, rather than while hearing them (Barbeau, 1917, p. 562). Literary historian Ralph Maud charged that Tate transcribed adaawx by writing them first in English, and then translating line by line into Sm'algyax, and that Boas then rewrote the narratives in Sm'algyax phonetically, in order to remedy "any inadequacies in Tate's written Ts'msyen" (Maud, 2000, p. 21). The result, according to Maud, was that the Ts'msyen language in parts of the *Texts* was inauthentic and substantially changed from the original. Sm'algyax scholar Margaret Seguin Anderson warns, however, "it is difficult to ascertain if differences between the language in those texts and what contemporary speakers would say is due to problems with the transcription or to changes in the language" (Anderson, personal communication, 2008). I discuss observations in section nine below, entitled "Song Collections," on the process of Tate/Boas' song notation. Like the language problems Maud describes, a side-by-side examination of Tate and Boas' versions of the same song show that Boas made substantive changes to musical notation when he saw problems with Tate's musical transcription.

Two other problems with the Boas material have to do with the absence of informed consent and a lack of information in the published versions about the function of each narrative. The Boas material was collected without the knowledge or permission of the Ts'msyen community, against traditional protocol. Tate recorded the stories secretly, from memory, sometimes working at night to conceal his activities. Also, in the published version of the *Tsimshian Narratives*, Boas does not distinguish between adaawx and children's stories (James McDonald, personal communication, February 2009).

In Barbeau's 1917 review of *Tsimshian Mythology*, he points out that Boas inappropriately uses the narratives contained in the collection to draw broad conclusions about Ts'msyen social organization, traditions, and arts. Barbeau cautions, "The reader should not forget that information of that nature can constitute only secondary evidence" (Barbeau, 1917, p. 551), and points out that while Boas' texts contain a wide range of material, "they fall short of the requirements when they are expected to yield a satisfactory perspective of a confused domestic history and an intricate social system" (p. 553). Barbeau also notes that because Tate was not privy to "local or special" legends, he was limited to collecting "general myths and tales," possibly because he did not enjoy high status (p. 553).

Another problem is that the ethnographers who studied the peoples of British Columbia's north coast region concentrated on the Nisga'a, the Gitksan, and the coastal Ts'msyen. Boas, Barbeau, Beynon and Garfield collected little data from the inland groups living at Kitsumkalum or Kitselas. McDonald reports that Boas did speak with residents of Port Essington, the settlement built around the cannery at the mouth of the Ecstall River, in the 1880s (McDonald, 2003, p. 17). Some of the Port Essington residents Boas interviewed were undoubtedly from Kitsumkalum, as many Kitsumkalum people lived at Port Essington year round during the period from the 1880s to the 1960s. Boas collected a total of only nine stories from Kitsumkalum (McDonald, 2000, p. 17). Viola Garfield, who wrote her doctoral dissertation under Franz Boas, wrote her detailed ethnography on the Ts'msyen living at Lax Kw'alaams, near Prince Rupert, recording over sixty songs there in 1932 (Garfield, 1939, p. 170). She did not include the inland and upriver peoples—the canyon Ts'msyen, the Nisga'a, and the Gitksan—in her study. However, the references in her work to those villages indicate a high degree of similarity between the upriver Tsimsyen's traditions and

those of Lax Kw'alaams. She observed that “culturally and physically, the Tsimshian are one” (Garfield, 1939, p. 173).

Apart from adaawx, William Beynon’s work—which includes thousands of pages of primary source documents—comprises the most complete extant information on the early history of Northwest Coast oral traditions and music. Beynon and Barbeau did study Kitsumkalum; McDonald reports that their “field notes include interviews with several Kitsumkalum leaders and their stories” (McDonald, 2003, p. 21). However, although Barbeau’s well-known song collection appeared in *The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music* (Barbeau et al, 1951), the songs in the book, transcribed to musical notation by Barbeau and composer/conductor Sir Ernest MacMillan, are from the Nisga’a and Gitksan (Barbeau et al, 1951, pp. 99-100). Barbeau referred to the Nisga’a and Gitksan languages as Tsimshian dialects, and referred to the Sm’algyax language as “Tsimshian proper” (Barbeau, 1951, p. 6)¹².

Many aspects of Ts’msyen culture survived through the critical time period of early contact and beyond because of the culture’s strength and resilience. Anderson points out that the Ts’msyen had already displayed great cultural tenacity by coexisting for millennia with other nearby First Nations while maintaining their unique cultural identity (personal communication, October 2006). Likewise, Cove noted “a high degree of cultural continuity” (Cove, 1987, p. 42) that proves the capacity of First Nations to resist major cultural change: “Even by the 1870s, native culture had not been significantly transformed” (p. 42). Northwest Coast First Nations “were intelligent and energetic traders, quite capable of

¹² Sm’algyax, Nisga’a and Gitksanimx are the three extant languages of the Tsimshianic language family. Nisga’a and Gitksanimx are no longer considered dialects of Sm’algyax.

driving a hard bargain” (Fisher, 1991, p. 289). They established many of the terms of commerce with European traders, both culturally and economically—for example, using song ritual and gift exchange as important components of business transactions with early traders (Fisher, 1991, p. 285). While Euro-Canadian influences undoubtedly had infiltrated Ts’msyen culture by Boas’s time—and even more thoroughly by Barbeau’s time—Ts’msyen culture remained vibrant and strong. Because many oral histories have been lost in the past two centuries, the work of Boas, Beynon, Barbeau and Garfield remains important. Despite their limitations, these works are valuable contributions to the body of knowledge about Ts’msyen culture, from which it is possible to infer many characteristics of pre-contact music.

The Holistic Nature of Ts’msyen Music

In Ts’msyen culture, songs are not discrete categories separate from other aspects of cultural performance; they are one of several essential components, which include storytelling, dancing, drumming, drama, and the wearing of regalia. As Kitsumkalum elder Mildred Roberts explains, “the songs go with the stories” (personal communication, July 9, 2007). Ts’msyen musician/artist Melodie Johnson, points out, “If it’s a story, you can make a song and dance out of it, and there’s usually a lesson to be taught” (personal communication, March 9, 2008). Ts’msyen music evolved in a society in which people and nature were inseparable, and the songs, which celebrated every aspect of life, reflected this holistic epistemology. Debbie Moore, Kitselas education coordinator, notes the inadequacy of the word “performance” in conveying the place music, drama and dance hold in Ts’msyen culture:

It's not a performance. It's culture, it's history, it's sharing; there's a purpose behind it. There's a purpose other than performance, and a lot of it these days is to teach. Not just ourselves, our children, but to teach the outside world about who we are, where we come from, and what a rich culture we have" (personal communication, 2007).

Song and dance were traditionally woven through both the sacred and mundane aspects of everyday life: food gathering, education, healing, public ceremonies, and important life passages. Songs were connected to *adaawx*, and those stories were connected to the land and to the ancestors.

Other First Nations share this holistic view of music. Writing about the Nisga'a, Paylig Juniper observes, "The Western terminology of the 'performing arts' does not reflect the integrated nature of the 'disciplines' and their relationship to spirituality and the land" (Juniper, 2000, p. 11). Ojibwe elder Alex Skead explains, "We always had the Powwow drum...The drums have always been that way, half and half. For entertainment and for praying" (Kulchyski, et al, 1999, p. 185). Twylah Hurd Nitsch, from the Seneca nation, remembers, "Singing, clowning, mime and plays were happy experiences for both young and old. Music was ...used to elevate the energy from tragedy to joy to exert healing" (Kulchyski, et al, 1999, p. 80). Margaret Paul, Passmoquady elder, states, "...When you sing, you make that sound, and with that sound, you're relating to the Creator ...Through dancing, you're dancing for the Creator." (Kulchyski et al, 1999, p. 11).

Songs are a powerful connection to the earth. Marie Battiste (2002) writes that traditional ecological knowledge is the collective knowledge of elders—their "songs, ceremonies, symbols, and artwork" (p. 19). Ethnomusicologist Lynn Whidden (2007), who spent several decades learning hunting songs from the Northern Cree, also views songs as traditional ecological knowledge. The information contained in a song is learned orally,

from one's family or community, and is specific to one's culture. Brycene A. Neaman, a Yakama elder, expands on this idea:

Our sense of connection involves remembering that the self is one with the earth, the spirit, the Creator. When we feel this connection between earth and our hearts, we often express it in song...We sang and still sing today (Smyth & Ryan, Eds., 1999, p. 76).

Owned Songs

A house, or waap, is a matrilineal family that collectively holds stewardship over certain territories. The plural of waap is wuwaap. In Ts'msyen culture, songs and stories are property; when songs are owned, they are generally owned by houses, or wuwaap. Campbell (2005) explains,

The territories are linked to the Waap through rights and privileges. These include adaawx, names, crests, dances, and songs. All are inherited property and cannot be used by any other Waap (although related Waap from the same wil'nat'al [closely related group of Wuwaap] shared some adaawx, crests, and songs) (p. 36).

Like material objects, intellectual property such as songs and adaawx are the property of a waap. Songs owned by wuwaap have profound significance. In his renowned and precedent-setting court case against the government of British Columbia, the Gitksan chief Delgam Uukw explains,

My power is carried in my House's histories, songs, dances and crests. It is recreated at the Feast when the histories are told, the songs and dances performed, and the crests displayed (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw, 1992, p. 7).

Delgam Uukw explains that songs powerfully invoke ancestors' spirits, and legitimize the ownership of both history and the territory that goes with it. Likewise, Marsden et al (1999) observe that "the adaawx links the family to its territories and

establishes rightful ownership of the land and resources” (p. 268). When the Supreme Court of Canada upheld Delgam Uukw’s appeal of the McEachern decision,¹³ it acknowledged that oral history—adaawx and songs—must be considered and given appropriate weight in defining hereditary land title.

Yet, the songs contained in adaawx carry significance beyond that of historical record. Delgam Uukw explains, “The oral history, the crests, and the songs of a House are evidence...of something more than even its history, title and authority. They represent also its spirit power, its *daxgyet*” (1992, p. 26).

Melodie Johnson identifies a type of owned song she refers to as the spirit song. A spirit song is a song that comes to a person, seemingly out of nowhere, at a time when it is needed. She relates such an experience she had during a parade in Terrace, when she was asked to perform in the parade at the last minute, but did not have a song ready:

I don’t know what happened. I was drumming, and I just started singing. And I don’t know what song it was, or where it came from, or I don’t remember it. It was just like...somebody or something gave me the song... I don’t know where it came from. So I guess in our culture it would be called the spirit song, something that’s given to you. You know, it was there, and then it was gone. In our culture, I remember my grandmother saying, there’s times when something is given to you, and it’s given to you for a reason (personal communication, 2008).

¹³ In 1991, trial judge Allan McEachern dismissed the claims of Delgamuukw, who was the first named plaintiff of 35 Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en hereditary chiefs suing for land rights and title. The Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en appealed the case until it was heard by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1997. The Supreme Court upheld many of the chiefs’ claims. Chief Justice Lamer stated, among other findings, that a new trial was necessary so that

the aboriginal perspective on their practices, customs, and traditions, and on their relationship with the land, are given due weight by the courts. In practical terms, this requires the courts to come to terms with the oral histories of aboriginal societies, which, for many aboriginal nations, are the only record of their past...[and which] play a crucial role in the litigation of aboriginal rights (par. 84) (Government of Canada, 2000).

Songs that are owned, then, serve a multitude of purposes. They lend power to *adaawx* with each telling; they recount history, establish land title, and connect with the spirits of the ancestors. The telling of *adaawx*, in turn, lends power to the *Waap* or *Wuwaap* to which the *adaawx* belongs. Songs owned by *Wuwaap* can include *liimk'ooy* or sacred ancestral mourning songs; lullabies; songs contained in *adaawx*; or songs commissioned by chiefs for various ceremonial occasions. Songs owned by a house are owned exclusively by that house, and cannot be used by others. Owned songs can be used by any member of the house of ownership, for purposes connected to the house, regardless of their lineage (Garfield, 1939, p. 174).

Traditionally, a chief could gain song ownership by commissioning songs for a feast, or *halayt*. This was an opportunity for talented individuals to be recognized by the community and to develop their craft. Garfield (1939) reported one chief bringing a *Nisga'a* song composer to Port Simpson from the Nass Valley as part of a two-year preparation for a feast. The composer stayed in Port Simpson all winter composing and teaching songs for the feast, functioning as an artist-in-residence (p. 200). Song genres used for feasts included food-distribution songs, lyric songs, medicine songs, taunting/challenge songs, mythological and crest songs, chieftainship or *halayt* songs, spirit name or *naxnox* songs, ceremonial songs, and dirges or laments (Barbeau et al, 1951, p. 106).

The giving of owned songs could be part of a restitution agreement, along with material objects or money, following a legal transgression. Garfield reported the case of a *Ts'msyen* man murdering the son of a *Haida* chief. After the *Ts'msyen* chief paid the *Haida* chief compensation for his grief, the *Haida* chief gave the *Ts'msyen* chief a song he owned, to demonstrate that he was satisfied with the compensation and held no more ill will toward

the Ts'msyen. The song is now "the exclusive property of [the Ts'msyen chief] and his lineage descendants" (p. 260).

Common Property Songs

A song that is not owned by a Waap, and can be sung by anyone, is called a common song, or a common property song. Common songs can include widely known ceremonial songs that are sung by diverse First Nations across large regions, children's songs and chants, certain lullabies (Mulder, 1994, p. 84), light-hearted love songs, and drinking songs.

One example of a widely performed common property song is the Blanket Dance, also known as the Four Crest Song, or *Hanina* (Mulder, 1994, p. 118). Don Wells explains that it is still used "up and down the coast, up in the interior...(you would) go to another village and hear the same thing from another group, different variants of some sort, but still the same thing" (personal communication, September 2, 2007). I have heard reports, from Wells and many others, of this song being used by the We'Suwet'En, Gitksan, Nisga'a, Haisla, and Ts'msyen. The Blanket Dance is a ceremonial dance song that is used on occasions when money is being collected in a blanket on the floor, as a means of fundraising. In the song, the four crests—Ganhada (Raven), Laxsgiik (Eagle), Gisbutwada (Killer Whale), and Laxgibuu (Wolf)—are each invited in turn to join in the dance.

Light-hearted love songs and drinking songs are also usually common property. "Come on, Sweetheart" and "Gitksan Woman's Song," two of the songs Mildred Roberts contributed, are examples of songs that fit into both the love song and drinking song categories. More examples can be found in Ellen Moses' (1980) article "Love and Lonesome Songs of the Skeena River." The songs in Moses' article are drawn from a variety of sources, including Barbeau during the 1920s, National Film Board recordings sung by

well-known ethnomusicologist Laura Boulton in 1942, Garfield's 1932 recordings from Lax Kw'alaams, and recordings made by Wilson Duff in Kitwancool in 1960 (Moses, 1980, p. 1). Like the Blanket Dance, these love and lonesome songs are known and sung by several adjacent communities. They contain a number of languages, including Ts'msyen, Gitksan, Carrier, Chinook, and English. Moses points out that love and lonesome songs were widely known because they were not owned by a particular waap or wil'nat'ak: "Since these songs, unlike the ceremonial songs, were not restricted to a particular region or privilege-sharing group, they were subject to considerable inter-tribal trade" (p. 3). She believes that, "ironically, their 'low status' has contributed to the longevity of these songs. They have been maintained longer in the active repertoire than the ceremonial songs since they were sung by a more widespread group of individuals" (p. 6).

Don Wells reports that another genre of common song is the taunting song. He cites a common taunting song he heard in the Nass Valley, the title of which, translated, is "White Man Walking Like a Raven [Crow]" (personal communication, September 2, 2007). Mildred Roberts and Melodie Johnson are familiar with this song, and believe it is about Napoleon Bonaparte (personal communications, February 24, 2008).

The elders I interviewed for this thesis believe that most children's songs and games are common property. Jean Mulder published a number of common children's songs in 1994, recorded in Hartley Bay, Kitkatla, and Lax Kw'alaams from 1979 to 1981: Stellar's Jay, Great Blue Heron, Rock Jumping, and Little Boy's Mourning Song. I include several common property children's songs in Appendix A.

Musical Instruments and Occasions

Music was, and continues to be, an integral part of traditional Ts'msyen life. There was music for every occasion, from group settings such as feasts, to private times like childbirth or mourning, and work activities like berry picking. Ts'msyen music often consists of solo or group singing accompanied by one or more drums. Skin drums were traditionally made of moose hide stretched over a cedar hoop, and beaten with a mallet (Barbeau, 1957). Box drums, consisting of large cedar boxes beaten with a mallet, were and are widely used. Garfield reported the use of wooden rattles. Wooden whistles were used in secret society performances to depict guardian spirits (Garfield, 1939, p. 56).

Barbeau (1951) described public dramatic performances, called Halait performances, which could include the enactment of "ancient legends, visitations of tutelary spirits, and current happenings" (Barbeau et al, p. 56). In a Halait performance, "non-crest powers owned by Houses...are dramatized by the chiefs and their successors in ceremonies" (Anderson and Halpin, Eds., 2000, p. 25). In this setting, elaborate costumes and masks were used, as well as a huge array of props including puppets and mechanical devices (pp. 91-108). The dances, songs, masks and puppets used in such a performance are collectively called *naxnox* (p. 25). A *naxnox* is a manifestation of the supernatural (p. 29). Halpin (1984) reports that a *naxnox* is also a spirit name, and she refers to the Halait as a spirit name dramatization (p. 58).

Other public settings in which music accompanied dance and drama included feasts of all kinds. Anderson and Halpin describe a number of occasions for feasts:

Settlement feasts...totem pole- or gravestone-raising feasts; welcome feasts (to celebrate totem pole-raising events); smoke feasts; retirement feasts; divorce feasts; wedding feasts; restitution feasts; shame feasts; reinstatement feasts...first game feasts; welcome feasts (to celebrate births); graduation

feasts (to celebrate recent achievements, either academic or spiritual);
cleansing feasts (to restore spirits after serious accidents); and coming out
feasts (to mark the transition from teen years to adult years) (2000, p. ix).

Special songs could be used for specific feasts. Barbeau transcribed, for example, a food-distribution song owned by Frank Bolton, which was handed down to Bolton from his grand-uncle (Barbeau et al, 1951, p. 123). Songs were sung for a wide range of occasions and activities; Barbeau categorizes his collection into:

Lyric songs...medicine songs...taunting/challenge songs used at feasts...mythological and crest songs...chieftainship or hallait songs...spirit-name or narhnoq songs...a ceremonial paddling song...a war song...a peace song...lullabies belonging to exclusively to clans...ceremonial songs...and dirges or mourning songs (Barbeau et al, 106). (Barbeau et al, 106).

Other song categories include berry-picking songs, songs that celebrate a successful hunt, and songs that are part of legends and stories.

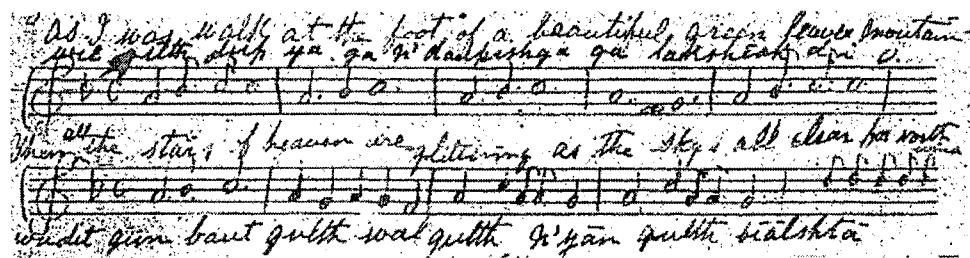
Mildred Roberts notes that certain changes have taken place in drumming, dancing, and regalia traditions, according to her grandmother's memories. Roberts reports that in those earlier times, drumming was much quieter than it is today, and was done only with the heel of the hand, rather than with a mallet or beater. Men drummed and women danced. The dancing was less active; the dancers did not "jump around" as much as they do in the present. Also, the wearing of certain regalia, now more commonplace, was an honour reserved only for Halayts (shamans) or chiefs (Mildred Roberts, personal communication, October 2008).

Historical Song Collections

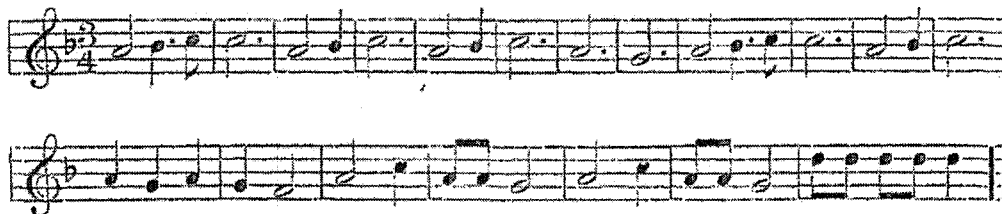
The first Ts'msyen songs Boas transcribed were from Kincolith on the Nass River, and appear in his 1902 collection *Tsimshian Texts*. The collection contains three songs in all; each is embedded in a longer narrative. The first song is a lament contained in the story of "The Origin of the G'ispawaduwe'da" [Killer Whale crest]. Its words, translated, are "Who

will marry my daughter Sqawo?” (Boas, 1902, pp. 221-2). It consists of three notes of the pentatonic (or five-tone) scale in a repeating rhythm. The second song is part of the story “Asi-hwil,” and the words are translated as, “Asi-hwil is picking the bones of my neck.” Its melody consists of four notes of the pentatonic scale. The melody is in 3/8 meter, but the notated accompanying drumbeat is in 2/4 meter. Its form is ABA (also called “ternary” form). The drum joins with the voice for the A, or first, section (p. 228). The third song belongs to the story “Tsegu’sks” and the words consist of “u u qa-ne, qq-ne” (p. 232). Boas did not provide a translation; from the story’s context, it appears that the words of the song imitate the sounds made by a whale. The song utilizes two notes, G and D. Its form is AB (binary), and the meter changes from 4/4 in the A section to 3/8 in the B section. It is accompanied by a drumbeat that changes pattern from the A to the B sections. The melodies of all three songs are based on the pentatonic scale. Two of the three songs include accompanying drumming patterns that change from section to section.

Boas and Tate’s *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) contains nine songs, at least one of which has clearly been substantially changed by Boas. In the preface, Boas writes a disclaimer that reads, “The music contained in the present volume was reproduced as written by Mr. Tate. I presume no claim for accuracy can be made for it” (p. 32). The original version of one of those songs—from the Porcupine story—written in Henry Tate’s hand, is reproduced in the appendix of Ralph Maud’s *Transmission Difficulties* (2000, p. 151). The time signature notated by Tate is common time (4/4), yet in Tate’s version, no measure in the song contains four beats. The note heads of eighth and sixteenth notes are not filled in:



Yet, when the same song appears in its published form in *Tsimshian Mythology*, it has been edited to appear metrically regular and consistent with European music writing conventions. The time signature now appears as 3/4, and each measure contains three beats—except for measures one and nine, which, inexplicably, contain four, although no change in meter is indicated there (Boas probably inadvertently omitted the extra flags that would turn the dotted quarter notes into dotted eighths, and the eighth into a sixteenth). Bar lines have been moved and note values altered to accommodate the new 3/4 meter:



Predictably, the new rhythm fails to match the words provided by Tate; Boas writes, “It has not been possible to correlate words and tune” (1916, p. 112). Most likely, this is because Boas did not make the metric changes with the Sm’algayax word rhythm in mind.

Because of the difficulty of obtaining the rest of the original source material contained in the 1916 volume, and because to do so would take me away from the focus of this thesis, I can only guess that the same sort of re-working may have been done to the other eight songs in *Tsimshian Mythology*. The songs in the published version do not contain the rhythmic discrepancies and errors found in the Tate version of the Porcupine song. The

Tate/Boas songs are also remarkably simpler, both rhythmically and melodically, than those published by Barbeau.

Between 1915 and 1929, Marius Barbeau compiled the largest existing written collection of Tsimshianic songs. He recorded two hundred fifty-five songs on wax cylinders, the cutting-edge technology then, and seventy-five of them were eventually notated and published (Barbeau et al, 1951, pp. 95-280), including eight that were transcribed by Sir Ernest Macmillan, a noted composer who would later become conductor of the Toronto Symphony (McKay, 2002, p. E6). Barbeau's recordings, archived in the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, are nearly all from either the Gitksan area of the upper Skeena River, or from the Nisga'a people on the Nass River (Barbeau, 1951, p. 100). Unfortunately, none was collected from the inland areas of the Skeena. However, the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas people are situated near both the Gitksan and Nisga'a, and all three—the Gitksan, Nisga'a, and Ts'msyen—speak Tsimshianic languages. Based on ethnographic data from Garfield, Boas, Barbeau, and oral histories, all of which show striking cultural and linguistic similarities as well as shared lineages between these groups, it is reasonable to assume that the traditional music of the three groups shared many common characteristics.

Marguerite Beclard d'Harcourt, who analyzed the scales of the songs in the Barbeau/Beynon/MacMillan collection, found that twenty-nine of the songs are based on the pentatonic scale (Barbeau et al, 1951, p. 107). The others are based on a variety of other scales, some of which have names in the European convention (i.e., pentatonic, Phrygian, Aeolian and Dorian), and others that are not classifiable in that system (p. 107).

D'Harcourt does not comment on the accompanying drumbeats that Barbeau and MacMillan have notated, but the interplay between drum and voice is interesting and often

complex. Drum rhythms are sometimes independent of the melody. In some songs, the drumbeat is in the same meter as the voice but plays at a different tempo, or varying tempi; in others, the drum and voice are in different meters. MacMillan described this sort of polyrhythm as “wretchedly intricate” and wrote in his memoirs,

It wasn't too easy, you know—complicated rhythms. That [Tralahaet] song was like a 3/5 plus 4 against a drum beat of 3/4. It's quite easy when you grasp what it is, but it's very hard to get the whole idea at first (McKay, 2002, E5).

The majority of the Barbeau songs contain metric changes.

Melodic complexity is another distinguishing characteristic of the songs in Barbeau's collection. Many of the songs utilize microtones that do not exist in Western European music. Many feature vocal glissandi (slides) and scoops¹⁴ that cover an octave range or more. In some cases, the voice produces laughter, shouting, imitation of bird or animal sounds, or cries to accentuate the emotional impact of the words. As described above, the melodies use a wide variety of scales, many of which are not identifiable in the terminology of western European music. All these rhythmic and melodic features sharply distinguish the earliest recorded Northwest Coast music from European music, and strongly suggest that Euro-Canadian cultural influences had not permeated Tsimshianic music by the time of Barbeau's and Beynon's work.

While the songs in the Barbeau/Beynon collection are more professionally and painstakingly transcribed than those of Boas/Tate, many of the songs in the collection were (and probably still are) owned by specific families, and their use or reproduction by those outside the family of ownership would be a serious breach of protocol. In cultures such as the

¹⁴ A scoop is the vocal technique of singing a note slightly below pitch and then sliding up to it.

Ts'msyen, Gitksan, and Nisga'a, whose oral traditions stretch back for millennia, the publication of an owned piece of intellectual property is today considered copyright infringement. Barbeau was living and working in a different time, in which appropriation was not an issue—and possibly, if the singers had agreed to be recorded, they may have wanted the songs preserved.

One of the songs was collected in a manner that would definitely be considered unethical today. The last song in Barbeau's collection, described as "not a dirge, but only a sing-song-like way of weeping among women on the North Pacific Coast," (157), was transcribed by ear—not recorded—without the knowledge or consent of the bereaved and grieving woman who was singing it. About this incident, Macmillan wrote in his memoirs:

I heard an old woman singing a kind of lament. It was very touching—the real folk material. I wish I could have gotten it down, but I couldn't intrude on her grief because it was quite genuine. Keening is the only word for it (MacMillan in McKay, 2002, p. E5).

While it was an act of respect not to ask to record her song, Macmillan nonetheless transcribed and published her song for posterity. Today, Barbeau's and Macmillan's means of obtaining the song would be considered an act of cultural theft which violates accepted principles of ethical conduct in research with humans: informed consent, respect for vulnerable persons, and respect for privacy and confidentiality (Government of Canada, Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics, 2005, pp. i.4-i.5). While Barbeau was working in a vastly different era and culture with ethical and moral standards different from those of today, it is important to note the conditions under which some of his songs were collected. Respect for the wuwaap and families which own the songs would dictate that they still not be used without the owners' permission.

Building on the work of Barbeau and others¹⁵, ethnomusicologist Ellen Moses interviewed elders and examined numerous recordings of traditional Ts'msyen songs that had been recorded between 1932 and 1960. She concluded, as Barbeau had, that traditional Ts'msyen songs cover a huge array of styles and subject matter. In her article "Love and Lonesome Songs of the Skeena River," Moses argues that the corpus of Ts'msyen songs can be divided into three groups: ancient songs said to have been given to or created by the clan ancestors; old songs usually commissioned by a chief; and newer "love" songs which might have originated in the post-contact period and usually lament the absence of a loved one or describe a lighthearted domestic situation (p. 1).

Moses' research focused on the latter group. These were sung, usually by women, in casual, non-ceremonial settings, and were generally known throughout the North American continent as "love songs" or "lonesome songs." The Ts'msyen called these songs by a variety of descriptive names:

"Goodbye, sweetheart" songs, "hello, sweetheart" songs, Chinook songs, riding or pack-train songs, parting songs, lonesome songs, or hum, merry-making songs, *limx leyadit* or love songs, "complaints" (after the French), "steamboat'm" songs, homesick songs, and so forth (Moses, 1980, p. 2).

These songs were sometimes composed by talented individuals, or they developed—in the manner of folk songs everywhere—as a collective, organic effort. They were usually performed either by a soloist or by a group of women, and were accompanied by a drum. As we have seen is typical of Tsimshianic songs, they encompassed a wide melodic range, contained large melodic leaps, and were often sung in a high tessitura (p. 2). Moses pointed

¹⁵ Moses wrote about recordings made by Barbeau, "by Laura Boulton in 1942 for the National Film Board, by Viola Garfield in 1932 in Kitwancool, and by Wilson Duff in 1960" (Moses, 1989, p. 1).

out that most contain “alternating stanzas of...meaningful text, and...vocables¹⁶ refrains” (p. 2). Yet the songs also show clear musical evidence—both rhythmically and melodically—of Euro-Canadian influence. Many songs utilize a mixture of Sm’algyax, Carrier, Chinook, and English. In contrast to many of the songs transcribed by Barbeau, they are based on European scales and rhythms. An eclectic mixture of languages and musical styles, the love songs “speak most clearly of cultural contact” (Moses, 1980, p. 3). Some were imported from regions to the south, and were learned and transmitted by those working on gold prospectors’ pack trains headed for the Yukon. Other songs developed communally, using Chinook as a common language, in areas where the Ts’msyen, Gitksan, Carrier, Haida, and others worked in sawmills, canneries, the waterfront, on boats, and “hop-picking” in Puget Sound. Boas reported,

[The Native people] have their own quarter in every city...it is at such feasts in the Indian shanties that songs frequently originate...These songs convey a better idea of the character and life of the Indians living in the cities of British Columbia than a long description could do...These ditties...remain in use for many years. The greater part of those I have collected was composed by women...the songs in the native language are also conveyed from tribe to tribe (in Moses, 1980, p. 3).

¹⁶ Vocables are words that do not have specific meanings, but which can serve certain functions in songs. Examples are such words as “ho”, “ha”, or “yi.” In her description of vocables in Navaho ceremonial music, Frisbie writes:

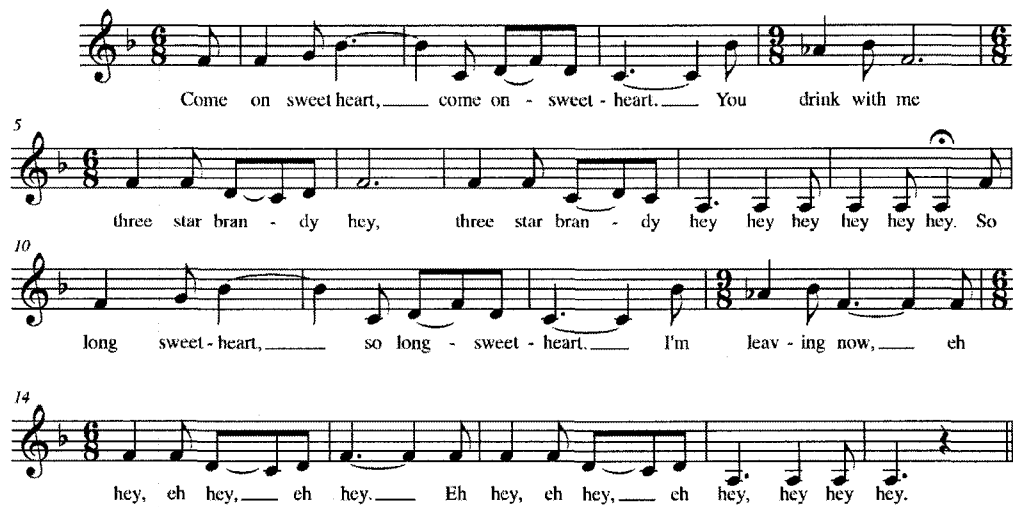
[Vocables] can be archaic or obsolete words...they can imitate animal cries...they are an integral part of music and poetry...they are genre specific in some song styles, and...they fill out melodies and weld texts to songs (347).

Mulder (1994) analyzed the role of vocables in twenty traditional Ts’msyen songs in her article “Structural Organization in Coast Tsimshian Music.” She argues that vocables often function as an accompaniment to melodic repetition, “providing rhythm, filling out the line, and providing a microcosm of the structure of the song as a whole” (99).

While some of these women's love songs were an amalgam of local languages, others were sung in Ts'msyen dialects. Moses observed that these songs were generally lyrically and musically sophisticated, using "the witticisms, wordplay, and satire that characterize much Ts'msyen verbal lore" (1980, p. 4).

The love songs in Moses' 1980 study span the decades from the 1920s to 1960. "The Steamboat Love Song" is a lament: "I want to sit at the top of the mountain so that the crazy steamboat of my heart will carry me around" (p. 1). "Pack Train Love Song" asks, "how many days till you come back...my sweetheart?" "Gasoline Boat Love Song" tells of the fears of women waiting for their men who are fishing in gas-powered boats in Lake Moricetown (p. 4). (As there is no lake with this name in northwestern British Columbia, Moses may have been referring to either Morice Lake, or Lake Babine, a large lake near Moricetown.) "Ghost Love Song" relates the story of a man who hears his dead children singing and laughing (p. 4). "Drinking Song" expresses longing for "that bottle with the homebrew in it so my heart will be merry" (p. 5).

Among the songs that Mildred Roberts sang for me are two that are very similar in content to the songs in Moses' collection, and are from approximately the same time period. Mildred learned the first one, "Come on Sweetheart," from her grandmother, who learned it in Port Essington, a meeting place of many villages and cultures. The lyrics are in English:



1. Come on, sweetheart; come on, sweetheart.
You drink with me three-star brandy, hey, three-star brandy, hey.
2. So long, sweetheart; so long, sweetheart.
I'm leaving now, eh hey, hey hey, hey,
Hey, hey, hey, hey, hey eh-hey. (Personal communication, July 2008)

“Come on Sweetheart” contains all of the elements Moses identifies in love and lonesome songs: melodic sophistication, a diatonic melody, light-hearted and satirical content, and vocables.

The second song, Mildred explains, “Gitxsan Woman’s Song,” is about a woman who is “feeling sorry for herself because she’s not beautiful.” She first heard it at a concert put on by Port Essington women.



Eh, eh, eh, eh. T'ooxga goodu da walu ee ee.
Awul ałgadi amaap'asi ee, ee.

Like “Come on Sweetheart,” this song is light-hearted and satirical, the melody is diatonic, and vocables are interspersed with lyrics.

All of these songs express universal and elemental human emotions, and they speak eloquently about the feelings and lives of the women who composed and sang them. “Love and lonesome songs” are a glimpse of women’s lives and emotions during a time of rapid economic and social change.

A Century of Cultural Assault

“If music were not a powerful resource in social and political struggles, it would not be so widely censored, controlled, and surrounded with restrictions...Music creates loyalties and galvanizes opposition so well that music itself sometimes becomes an object of struggle” – Mickey Hart, *Songcatchers*.

Between the late 1800s and the mid- to late-twentieth century, the federal and provincial governments instituted a number of policies designed to force First Nations to

assimilate into Euro-Canadian culture. Two of these policies—residential schools, described earlier, and the ban on potlatches—were especially devastating. Many survivors of residential schools were so traumatized that psychiatrists have identified a form of post-traumatic stress disorder called “residential school syndrome” (Brasfield, 2001, p. 1).

Residential schools operated from 1879 until the last schools were closed in 1980.

Not all children were subjected to this level of trauma, of course. Many children from the Terrace area attended day schools, and that attendance was often sporadic because of seasonal hunting and fishing. Mildred Roberts went to school in Port Essington, but reports moving seasonally: “We’re always out [at] camp. My dad’s thing was for survival. He moved his family with him” (personal communication). Debbie Moore explains that because her paternal grandfather enfranchised,¹⁷ her father’s family was also automatically enfranchised, which meant that she did not have to attend residential school. Charlotte Guno attended both Indian Day School and residential school, and speaks positively about both experiences, while acknowledging that many others had less positive experiences.

¹⁷ Enfranchisement was a federal policy that began in the late 1800s when the Canadian government passed *An Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in This Province, and to Amend the Laws Respecting Indians*:

An Indian man could qualify for the right to vote by applying for enfranchisement and receiving an allotment of reserve lands, which would be subject to assessment and taxation. Enfranchisement removed all distinctions between the legal rights and liabilities of Indians and those of other British subjects. It did not in itself grant an entitlement to vote. Enfranchisement did, however, require the abandonment of reserve rights and the right to live with one’s family and culture (Moss & Gardner-O’Toole, 1987).

In 1876, new legislation was added that included involuntary enfranchisement of an Indian woman who married a non-Aboriginal man. In 1951, legislation was enacted that included the automatic enfranchisement of the wife and children of a man who was enfranchised. Enfranchisement provisions were repealed by Parliament in 1985.

Day schools, like residential schools, prohibited the speaking of one's native language. Mildred Roberts reports, "For every Indian word we used, five minutes in. Your name goes on the board" (personal communication). Lorna Johnson's father, who had attended residential school, enfranchised and moved to Terrace from Endudoon in order to keep his children out of residential school. However, Lorna reports being strapped, having paper stuffed into her mouth, and being made to stand in the corner for speaking Sm'algyax at day school. After that happened, Lorna's father prohibited his children from speaking their language.

Because children stopped speaking their native language, and many were separated from their families and communities, the transmission of important cultural knowledge, including songs and stories, nearly ceased. For many parents whose children were forcibly taken away, life lost its meaning. On every level, First Nations culture was assaulted.

Another form of cultural assault began with the federal government's ban on potlatching, or feasting—in Sm'algyax, yaawk. The yaawk was and continues to be a crucially important expression of Ts'msyen culture that serves a multitude of purposes. Miller defined the potlatch as "the knots holding together the Tsimshian fabric":

Potlatching...included both feasting and the display of crests (inherited art forms like songs, dances, designs, and most especially, names emphasized in mythic sagas) before witnesses...who in turn received compensation in food and gifts for later validating the celebrated change at other public events (1984, p. 28).

Anderson wrote that the yaawk, "in its complexity and intricate interconnections with Tsimshian culture, may be seen as a treasure as beautiful as the gwushalait, or as we call it, the Chilkat blanket...(1984, p. 131). In his precedent-setting statements to the B.C. Supreme

Court, Delgam Uukw described the importance of songs and stories in the context of the yaawk in establishing House title and authority:

The formal telling of the oral histories in the Feast, together with the display of crests and the performance of the song...constitute not only the official history of the House, but also the evidence of its title to its territory and the legitimacy of its authority over it (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw, 1992, p. 26).

The yaawk, then, was a vital event for the transmission of many aspects of Ts'msyen culture, including song, dance and drama.

The Ts'msyen, along with other First Nations, experienced a lengthy, multi-generational interruption of these cultural practices, starting with the passing of Federal anti-potlatching laws in 1884. The ban lasted nearly seven decades, until 1951 (Cole & Chaikin, 1990, p. 168). The response to the potlatch ban differed from region to region. Cole and Chaikin report that the Gitksan and Southern Kwakiutl, for example, did not entirely stop having potlatches, despite a few arrests (pp. 9 and 159). Many coastal groups defied the ban in some fashion:

The great majority of the coastal Indians, while often willing to rid their ceremonies of features objectionable to Europeans, wanted to continue their customary system and could see little reason not to do so. They sought to avoid conflict with the law, to bend its interpretation and to temper its enforcement, even to seek its repeal. If none of these were successful, however, many were prepared, certainly with a sense of their own strength and the government's limitations, to defy it (Cole & Chaikin, 1990, p. 25)

The Ts'msyen, as McDonald (1994) points out, historically have defended themselves against invasion by various groups, including other First Nations, settlers, and industrialists (p. 3). When potlatching was banned, the Ts'msyen characteristically defended their culture by carrying on this important practice in modified form. In 1990, McDonald wrote,

...As early as the 1930s, Viola Garfield observed that "no large potlatches are being given at the present time, the skeleton of the old procedure being

followed only in the death and name taking” (1939:194). At Kitsumkalum, in particular, the universal response to my early (circa 1980) questioning about their own potlatching or feasting was that they had not done anything like that at least since the 1920s or 30s. The closest events to a potlatch that I could identify were generally referred to as “suppers”, “little suppers”, “dos”, or more recently, as “little feasts”, yet people at Kitsumkalum did not think them to have enough traditional organization or meaning to associate them with potlatching when I asked (pp. 6-7).

Miller (1984) observed, “all of the key features traditionally attributed to the pre-Christian potlatch, if not the event itself, are still visibly operative in current Southern Tsimshian feasts” (p. 38). Likewise, McDonald notes that Seguin Anderson’s studies of Hartley Bay potlatches demonstrate that their fundamental structure endured: “Although the potlatch had undergone many changes, it had retained its essential nature” (McDonald, 1990, p. 106). The potlatch tradition was maintained surreptitiously, in a form unrecognizable to the colonizers, for many decades.

Nevertheless, several generations of repression and silent resistance took its toll. Cole and Chaikin reported that immediately following the passage of Bill 79, which lifted the ban in 1951, “most younger Indians were apathetic, even antagonistic toward rituals, dances and songs in languages fewer and fewer knew well” (1990, p. 170). With the diminished interest in ceremony, the associated songs were also sometimes lost. The combined effect of the potlatch ban, residential schools, and day schools was cultural loss on a massive scale.

Choirs and Marching Bands

During the time of these assimilation policies, music introduced by Anglican, Methodist, and Catholic missionaries partially supplanted traditional music forms, and came to flourish in Ts’msyen communities. Campbell (2005, p. 187) reports a number of developments that took place after the establishment of those churches, beginning in the late

1800s. Every community boasted a substantial choir “which performed in four-part harmony,” and whose repertoire included hymns in both Sm’algayax and English (p. 187). Brass marching bands began to spring up throughout the Northwest Coast. The first Ts’msyen marching band was established in Metlakatla in 1875 by the autocratic and controversial Reverend William Duncan (see footnote, page 20). Duncan hired a music instructor from Victoria to teach the residents of Metlakatla, B.C. to play their instruments and to arrange music for various band instruments. Soon after, a Ts’msyen man named Roderick Yoksl began to conduct there. Yoksl went on to teach residents of Kincolith, and possibly other villages, how to play band instruments. Many other communities throughout the Northwest followed suit during the 1880s and 1890s, and “by the early 1900s, most First Nations communities on the north coast had brass marching bands and church choirs” (p. 187).

According to Campbell (2005) and Clarence Nelson, Job Nelson, a Ts’msyen resident of Metlakatla, achieved some fame and success as a published composer of band music. Nelson was “the driving force behind much of the music in Ts’msyen communities in the early 1900s” (Campbell, 2005, pp. 187-8). His grandson, Clarence Nelson (formerly of Metlakatla, B.C., and now of Prince Rupert), reports that Duncan went to England to procure band instruments soon after founding Metlakatla, and then traveled to Victoria to take music lessons in order to learn to play the newly acquired instruments, so that he could teach his parishioners (personal communication, 2007). Job Nelson learned quickly, and traveled to neighbouring Ts’msyen communities to teach others to play band instruments. Alfred Auckland, a friend, often accompanied him, organizing and conducting choirs in each community the two musicians visited.

Nelson's compositions had a uniquely northern and Aboriginal flavour. Bands would often play for funerals; Nelson composed the Gladstone Funeral March for Chief Gladstone of Kitkatla, at the request of Gladstone's family. The piece was performed to "march his remains to the graveyard" (Clarence Nelson, personal communication, August, 2007). Another of Nelson's compositions, called Antifreeze, was composed in honour of the Hartley Bay community hall, which was so cold in the winter that when Nelson's band played there, the brass instruments' valves froze. Antifreeze was so named because none of the notes in it required the use of valves (Campbell, 2005, p. 188; Clarence Nelson, personal communication, August 2007). Other compositions by Nelson include the Metlakatla Waltz and the Imperial Native March. The latter was copyrighted in 1905 and published by Whaley, Royce, and Company, Toronto. I recently had the pleasure of hearing a special performance in honour of Job Nelson, in which the Terrace Community Band played a new arrangement by Jose Coosemans of Nelson's Imperial Native March.

Bands from the north coast traveled regularly to play in celebrations and competitions, sometimes traveling as far as Vancouver or Seattle (Campbell, 2005, p. 187). One especially well-known dance band, the "Hartley Bay Five," played "in Prince Rupert and at coastal communities as distant as Ocean Falls and Bella Coola" (Campbell, p. 188).

Dennis Tupman, the former District Principal of Performing Arts for the Vancouver School District, and a band teacher in Kitimat from 1957 to 1971, recalls judging a brass band competition in Terrace in April 1959. Tupman reports that the competition attracted bands from Laxgalts'ap (Greenville), Aiyansh, and Gitwinksihlkw (Canyon City), as well as community bands from Prince Rupert and Terrace that included many Aboriginal musicians. The Laxgalts'ap band proudly brought with them a medal they had earned in 1914 in a Prince

Rupert competition. The Lax Kw'alaams band performed in Vancouver at Expo '86, and in preparation, Tupman traveled to Lax Kw'alaams as a visiting instructor, coaching amateur groups who had been selected to attend Expo. He recalls that their band uniforms were "contemporary recreations of turn of the century band uniforms from London, England." Tupman observes that most of the village bands' repertoire consisted of marches from the World War I period. The reason, he explains, was "the many superannuated bandsmen that the government was trying to put to good use." The government sent retired bandmasters and musicians, whose repertoire consisted largely of World War I-era marches, to lead marching bands and brass bands in a number of villages. Because of the First Nations tradition of honouring one's elders, village bands kept these early marches in their repertoire until as late as the 1980s (Tupman, personal communication, October 2006).

Choral music was also an important part of community life in villages throughout the north coast. Mildred Roberts describes being drafted into a church choir at Port Essington as a teenager, around 1945, by the multi-talented musician Bill Spalding:

The old people knew some carols—my grandmother—but she didn't really teach us. Then we went to the church. [Bill Spalding] played the organ—well, he didn't that night, but he said the next night he would. So he invited one of the boys to come along and hold the gas light. And more of the young people dropped in. And after a while, we had a whole choir. One of his sisters sings alto, and he sings alto. And they trained my voice for soprano...[The Spaldings] grew up singing. Their father [David Spalding] was a conductor in the band, and sometimes we'll go up to practice at their home; they had a piano there. And their father will just take part and correct us: "Start all over again."

We'll start; we have to sing it just right. And then they choose who will be good to train to sing alto—that was my sister. And then I go with the ones that sing soprano. We'd meet in the old clubhouse—this great big hall, but upstairs was a clubhouse. And we'll practice songs, or we'll go up to his place. They have the piano, and he'll teach us new songs. Then we actually had a concert, singing songs, then threw in little skits—little plays. And then songs, and whoever wants to sing a solo could. We did have one concert—we had a good turnout [personal communication, 2007].

Roberts recalls caroling in Port Essington at Christmas time to the accompaniment of an organ that had been hoisted onto a sleigh. The instrument was pulled along in the sleigh from house to house so that everyone could join in. She remembers that the sleigh was pulled by young men, and that Bill Spalding as sleigh organist, playing by gas light, in Port Essington during her teen years. The carolers would often end up at Mildred's grandmother's (Rebecca Bolton's) house for refreshments. Debbie Moore, whose grandfather, Howard Starr, was remarried to Mildred's mother Selina, also recalls hearing about the organ on a sleigh in Port Essington. Caroline Daniels, who grew up in the Nass Valley and comes from both Nisga'a and Ts'msyen background, reports that nearly every village in the area shared this Christmas tradition. They would hoist a piano or organ onto a sleigh to accompany the carolers, who would travel from house to house, stopping to visit at each one. Caroling could take up to eight hours, as the carolers would stop at each house for refreshments (Caroline Daniels, personal communication, October 2008).

Mildred Roberts also recalls Charlie Henry leading a marching band in Lax Kw'alaams that consisted of his extended family—his sons, sons-in-law, and nephews. His granddaughters marched with the band as majorettes. The band was highly regarded, and frequently played in Prince Rupert.

Today, a few communities, such as Gingolx and Hartley Bay, still boast marching bands or choirs that perform for ceremonial occasions such as weddings, funerals, and feasts. Melodie Johnson reports that the Hartley Bay choir, known for its fine singing since the late 1800s (Seguin Anderson, 1984, p. 12) still sings in Sm'algyax, and for that reason is often invited to sing at traditional functions in other communities. She also reports a church choir in Kitkatla that currently sings all their hymns in Sm'algyax (personal communication,

2008). The era of marching bands and choirs was a significant one in the history of the Ts'msyen, and demonstrates their adaptability and musicality. When their musical traditions were suppressed, they embraced band and choir music wholeheartedly and made it their own.

Revival and Renaissance

In the decades following the end of the potlatch ban and the closing of the last residential schools, Aboriginal peoples throughout Canada have reclaimed their cultures and autonomy through land claims, self-government, personal healing, educational self-determination, and artistic revival. Like other First Nations, Kitselas and Kitsumkalum residents are now resurrecting their art and culture. Diane Collins, former chief councilor of Kitsumkalum, observes, "As a Nation, we have been oppressed by different levels of government for many years, but we are now emerging out of that state of oppression and into our own culture. Every day Kitsumkalum works on revitalizing its heritage" (Collins, 2003, p. vii). That revitalization includes treaty research, feasts, dance groups, language revitalization, and the recognition of the authority of Hereditary Chiefs and house groups (2003, pp. vii-viii). Berthiaume (1999) notes that Kitselas and other Tsimsyen communities

have a sufficient number of cultural leaders who actively promote the values of Tsimshian language and culture through feasting, carving, and dancing. As more people gain an interest in learning the language of Sm'algyax, understanding the crest system, conducting of feasts and making of regalia...the stronger the culture becomes (p. 101).

For Kitsumkalum, one of the first significant events to mark this new awareness was a yaawk, or feast, of enormous proportions that took place in August 1987. The organizers named the event "Su-Sit'Aatk," or "a new beginning" (McDonald, 1994, p. 5). The feast included the raising of two totem poles carved for the occasion, a concert band from Port Simpson, traditional foods, speeches, and dancing. Approximately two thousand guests were

in attendance, including chiefs from neighbouring areas and political dignitaries. McDonald observes, “Kitsumkalum’s ability to accommodate so many people again demonstrated the strength and remarkable effectiveness of the new community structure” (pp. 21-2).

For Kitselas, landmark events in the revival of language and culture include the construction of a community hall “which serves as the feast hall and the carving shed” (Berthiaume, p. 101), a resurgence of people actively teaching and learning to speak Sm’algyax, the rise to eminence of carvers such as Dempsey Bob¹⁸, Stan Bevan, and Ken McNeil, and the formation of the Gitselasu Dancers in 1989 (Berthiaume, p. 101). Anne McDames, long-time leader of the dance group and a member since its inception, explains that the formation of the dance group was the result of elders requesting it: “They knew the language and culture were dying, and they wanted to revive it” (personal communication, 2006). Fifteen years later, the highly regarded group, which includes four generations of dancers, continues to practice weekly and perform regularly, forming “an integral part of feast celebrations” (Berthiaume, p. 105). Kitselas elder Debbie Moore explains that when she watches the dancers, “It makes me so proud, because you know, that’s where I come from. I’m part of them, they’re part of me, and nothing will ever change that” (personal communication, 2007).

¹⁸ Dempsey Bob is of Tahltan and Tlingit descent, but practices his carving art in the community of Kitselas.

Summary of the Literature Review

The Ts'msyen people of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas share a heritage that encompasses rich and complex art and culture, geographical displacement, colonization, cultural repression, and cultural rebirth.

Music has always been a vitally important part of Ts'msyen culture, and continues to be an integral part of cultural performance, which includes dancing, storytelling, and elements of material culture such as masks and regalia. Anthropologists Boas, Beynon, and Barbeau recorded early narratives and songs that document the complexity and beauty of Ts'msyen oral culture. "Love and Lonesome" songs compiled more recently by Moses offer a glimpse into the lives of Ts'msyen women during times of rapid cultural and economic change.

For over a century, the federal government suppressed First Nations language and culture by establishing residential schools and instituting a ban on potlatches. Faced with these constraints, the Ts'msyen embraced new musical forms, and the era of marching bands and choirs is a testament to their cultural resilience and love of music.

Since the dismantling of these repressive policies, many Aboriginal and government documents have expressed the need to reverse the damage done, and First Nations are now actively reviving their cultural traditions. The process of healing and rebuilding is ongoing.

Chapter Three: Language and Culture

“A language...is not just the grammar and words—it is the flash of the human spirit, the vehicle through which the soul of each unique culture comes into the world...Every language is an old growth forest of the mind, a watershed of thought, an ecosystem of social and spiritual possibilities.” --Wade Davis (personal communication, 2005)

As Davis points out, and as the federal government’s attempts to eradicate Aboriginal heritage languages demonstrate, language is much more than simply a means of imparting information and ideas; it is a vitally important marker of cultural identity. In the following chapter, I discuss the importance of heritage languages, ways in which heritage language is used to solidify and transmit cultural identity, how teachers can support heritage language and culture in the classroom, ways to teach inclusively with an awareness of the learning styles of differing cultures, and ideas for applying the preceding ideas in practice—including the teaching of songs and chants.

Cultural Contexts for Heritage Language

Barbara Goodfellow’s 2005 study about the cultural implications of language for the K^wak^waka’wak^w people, *Talking in Context*, speaks to Aboriginal peoples like the Ts’msyen whose languages are now endangered or could be soon. Goodfellow argues that while linguists have generally focused on the internal structures of languages, the cultural context in which those structures exist is often ignored: “Linguistic anthropology differs from linguistics in that it moves beyond the analysis of languages divorced from cultural context toward an understanding of the circumstances surrounding their use” (p. 8).

Talking in Context is a study of the cultural contexts in which the K^wak^wala language is spoken in the two K^wak^waka’wak^w communities. Goodfellow spent several years studying

the structure, sounds, and vocabulary of the K^wak'^wala language as spoken by three different generations of community members in the communities of Quatsino and Kingcome inlet, on and near Vancouver Island, British Columbia. She spoke with both fluent speakers and “semi-speakers,” speakers from the youngest generation who “are not capable of producing connected discourse” (p. 7). Goodfellow compared the language of the three generations with the K^wak'^wala recorded by Franz Boas and George Hunt, noting whether and how the internal structure of the language has changed. Finally, she studied the contexts in which the K^wak'^wala language is currently used, and “how it has been maintained primarily as a marker of K^wak'^waka'wak^w identity” (p. 11).

Goodfellow notes that the linguistic behaviour of colonized indigenous people who perceive their language as being threatened differs from the linguistic behaviour of those in the dominant culture:

In such colonial situations, speakers are very conscious of their use of the indigenous language and manipulate it to their advantage in order to display an identity that connects them to their cultural heritage. That is, an indigenous language in the process of dying can be retained (and often is) in certain contexts as a marker of cultural identity (p. 16).

Goodfellow identifies three social contexts in which K^wak'^wala is spoken: ritual contexts, solidarity contexts, and contexts of outside encounters (p. 162). Ritual contexts usually occur in the bighouse or ceremonial centre, and include such occasions as potlatches and canoe launches. Solidarity contexts are occasions in which the use of K^wak'^wala helps maintain one's K^wak'^waka'wak^w identity, such as conversing in the home, teaching K^wak'^wala in the classroom, speaking at an Elders' Gathering, or using words for which there is no English equivalent (pp. 166-7). Outside encounters are times when community members wish to differentiate themselves from non-K^wak'^waka'wak^w, such as “when outsiders are encountered

either in non-K^wak^waka'wak^w territory, or in a K^wak^waka'wak^w cultural context (e.g., a potlatch in Vancouver)" (p. 168). In these contexts, Goodfellow argues, speakers with varying degrees of fluency will use the language to assert their cultural identity. The three contexts, of course, overlap frequently and are not mutually exclusive. What is important is not the degree of fluency of the speaker in question, but the ways in which the language is being used. Goodfellow concludes:

The K^wak^wala speakers with whom I have worked believe strongly that their language, whether spoken fluently by an individual or not, is an intricate and even necessary part of their culture as K^wak^waka'wak^w, and a marker of their identity as K^wak^waka'wak^w people. Although the language may be changing...different generations of speakers retain it in various degrees of competence as a marker of cultural identity (pp. 190-191).

This study holds important implications for all indigenous peoples whose languages are threatened or moribund. Language preservation is not an "all or nothing" proposition, with either fluency or language death the as only two options. The next generation may not be fluent speakers, but many have enough knowledge of the language to pass important aspects of it along to their children. Ceremonial occasions such as cultural performance are crucial means of transmitting language and culture.

Cultural Discourse Conventions

Language transmits not only important cultural information, but also ways of thinking and interacting. Because of the widely differing styles of discourse across various ethnic groups, interethnic communication has huge potential for creating misunderstandings and frustration. Scollon and Scollon (1981) have written extensively on discourse in Athabaskan-speaking First Nations society in Alaska, and ways in which it contrasts with mainstream English (hereafter referred to as "Athabaskan" and "English").

One distinguishing feature of Athabaskan language use is that Athabaskans do not talk as much as English speakers. The Scollons believe that this is because of the great respect Athabaskans hold for the individuality of others, including others' right to their own opinions and feelings. Athabaskans tend to avoid conversation unless they are familiar with all participants' points of view (p. 15). Athabaskans expect children to watch while their teachers, in a greater role of power, display their knowledge, because the Athabaskan culture observes different behavioural expectations for those in relative positions of power. Athabaskans allow much longer pauses between sentences than English speakers, and tend to take as much time as needed to develop an idea—for example, an elder telling a traditional story. For English speakers, this is viewed as a monologue and is not the norm. There are numerous other examples of the fundamental differences between Athabaskan and English social expectations reflected in discourse conventions. It is easy to see why ethnic stereotyping often results when Athabaskans and English speakers converse. These discourse conventions are learned early in life, and are ingrained; even after a people such as the Athabaskans have lost their native language and speak only English, the discourse patterns remain:

In present-day Alaska and Canada, many people who do not speak any Athabaskan language have nevertheless learned Athabaskan discourse patterns which are essential for effective communication within the village, even though the language used may be English (p. 28).

Corson (1992) identifies key situations in schools in which children from minority cultures might have difficulty engaging in discourse in the manner expected by teachers, and thus might come to be seen as uncooperative, overly shy, or hostile. These differences extend to narrative structures as well, and may be apparent during structured activities such as “sharing” time or storytelling, or when extracting the lesson or main point from a story.

Children from minority cultures who have not grown up with exposure to books may tell stories in a stylistically different manner from children who have grown up reading. Factors affecting the type of narrative a child chooses are culturally determined; for example, some cultures hold storytelling as “an adult function that is dignified by its association with the role of an elder” (p. 482). In these cultures, children may have heard elders telling stories, but have little experience doing so themselves. McCabe (1997) has found that Japanese children’s narrative are short and concise, as Japanese culture values economy and restraint when speaking; Latino children’s narratives tend to foreground family connections; and Puerto Rican children “generate action routines” in their stories (pp. 457-460). Other researchers have found that teachers’ responses to culturally different narrative styles are often negative—“not due to teacher incompetence or lack of good will” (Corson, p. 484), but because the teachers come from a different culture and have learned discursive and narrative norms that are different from those of their students. The differences between culturally appropriate learning situations from one minority culture to the next often differ as much as the minority culture differs from the majority culture.

Corson concludes, “schools are obliged to provide some measure of differential treatment to meet the culture-related needs of children” (p. 488). This needs to happen not just at the classroom level, but also within “the very organizational structures of schools themselves” (p. 489). One classroom strategy for cultures not accustomed to individual attention is “privatization”—that is, avoiding publicly singling students out, and instead speaking to them privately. Another strategy that works with some cultures (e.g., Hispanic) is “personalization,” or addressing students using “simple courtesies; affectionate forms of address; diminutives; and phrases showing clear respect for the rights and dignity of the

children” (p. 489). These strategies would work well with most children—and with most people, for that matter—regardless of their heritage culture, because they demonstrate respect and caring. Corson’s other recommendations include employing greater individual attention and culturally sensitive means of assessment and evaluation—for example, “ethnographic bilingual assessment” and “peer tutoring followed by peer feedback” (p. 491). Fostering oracy, encouraging discourse in ways with which students are comfortable, can help develop literacy. Inclusion of a heritage language, then, means not only including appropriate curricular materials, but also accommodating cultural differences in discourse patterns, even in non-speakers of a language who are members of the language’s heritage group.

Findings about one minority discourse convention cannot be considered applicable to all (or any) other minority groups. While a detailed discussion of discourse patterns of First Nations students in my geographic area could be the topic of another thesis, the question of what those patterns might be bears careful consideration and observation. I have informally noticed discourse conventions both in my First Nations students and in the elders I interviewed that differ from my own. The most obvious of these include differing lengths of pauses between sentences (mine are shorter), speech tempo (mine tends to be faster), and speech volume (mine is louder). As Scollon and Scollon pointed out, culturally determined differences often occur in minority cultures even when the speaker’s first language is English. These discourse features hold important implications for children’s learning. Inclusion means more than just adding First Nations content to the curriculum; it means understanding, respecting, and including diverse worldviews, reflected in the ways in which we communicate with each other.

Language and Culture in the Classroom

In his essay “Language and Cultural Content in Native Education,” Robert Leavitt (1995) describes ways in which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal teachers can sensitively and respectfully include the language and content of traditional First Nations education in their teaching. Leavitt describes a course called “Language and Culture in Native Education,” which took place at Concordia University in the late 1980s. Course instructors modeled traditional First Nations ways of teaching, including respect, collaboration with students, the use of fluid time frames, and storytelling techniques (p. 125). Such teaching honours First Nations traditions and enriches the classroom.

Leavitt points out that “Native content” has often meant only the superficial inclusion of material culture, yet teachers need to address all aspects of First Nations culture. These include not only the objects and skills of material culture, but also social culture, cognitive culture, and linguistic culture. Social culture consists of interactions that include person-to-person communication, kinship and other relationships. Cognitive culture consists of “worldviews, value systems, spiritual understanding, and practical knowledge.” Linguistic culture is comprised of the ways in which language “maintains individual and group identity and transmits...culture from one generation to the next” (p. 126). The discourse patterns described by Scollon and Scollon and Corson demonstrate how language can preserve identity and transmit culture.

Leavitt points out that the social, cognitive, and linguistic aspects of First Nations culture can be part of classroom teaching, along with material culture, only when education is based in understanding and honouring the tenets of First Nations education (p. 126). In one example of this process, Leavitt mentions a Native teacher being given a set of stories by

elders so that her students could learn “not only of the content of the stories but also of their place in the linguistic culture of the community” (p. 125).

Storytelling as a way to transmit culture is also the focus of Jane Smith Mowatt’s unpublished MEd project entitled *Gitxsan Storytelling: The Breath of our Grandfathers* (2000)¹⁹. Mowatt’s research focuses on the Gitxsan people of northern British Columbia, and examines ways in which the school system can become more relevant and responsive to Gitxsan children by including storytelling in the curriculum. In researching her project, Mowatt consulted Gitxsan elders, who advised her, “youth must take the ‘talking stick’ from the hands of the oral culture and incorporate it into the hands of their book learning” (p. 11). She notes the many crucial roles storytelling plays in Gitxsan culture:

Through stories the Gitxsan explain how things are, why they are, and their role and purpose. Stories are the building blocks of knowledge, the foundation of memory and learning. For the Gitxsans, stories link them with the past and connect them to the present and future by teaching the listeners to anticipate the possible consequences of their actions (p. 13).

Storytelling powerfully stimulates the imagination as we create our own images to match the narrative (pp. 16-17).

Working with elders, Mowatt collected three Gitxsan stories. She brought two teachers, “storytelling trainees,” to an outdoor setting, and had them practice telling the stories around a campfire. The teachers, in turn, told their students the stories they had learned. The students drew pictures of what they had heard, and discussed the life lessons contained in the stories. Mowatt’s project is one example of how Leavitt’s ideas could be realized.

¹⁹ The children’s stories in Jane Smith Mowatt’s project were published as a picture book by the Creekstone Press (2004).

Marie Battiste (2000) echoes Leavitt's contention that schools remain unresponsive to Aboriginal students. She notes that despite the inclusion of Aboriginal content in school curricula in the decades since the National Indian Brotherhood published their 1972 position paper, "these reforms have not gone far enough" (p. 192). She charges that existing Canadian curriculum "has not empowered Aboriginal identity by promoting an understanding of Aboriginal worldviews, languages and knowledge" (p. 192). Educational systems are guilty of "cognitive imperialism, also known as cultural racism; "that is, inflicting the worldview of the colonizer upon the colonized, with the implicit understanding that the colonizer's worldview is the superior one" (pp. 192-3). Studies which focus on ways to address Aboriginal learning styles often ignore the pervasive Eurocentrism inherent in school culture and how it negatively impacts Aboriginal students: "The studies...do not examine the culture of the schools themselves to see what counts as knowledge and truth and what does not. They do not study what, or whom, the curriculum and pedagogy represses, excludes, or disqualifies" (p. 16).

To correct these failures, Battiste believes, schools need to expose historical injustices, examining the factors that caused those injustices (p. 20). Traditional ecological knowledge is the combined knowledge and wisdom of many community members—their "songs, ceremonies, symbols, and artwork" (p. 19). Schools need to value and utilize the knowledge and expertise of elders, "living educational treasures," who speak Aboriginal languages and embody Aboriginal epistemology (p. 21).

Of all the components of Indigenous knowledge to be preserved, language is the most essential. Battiste notes, "These languages are a direct and powerful means of understanding the legacy of tribal knowledge. They provide the deep and lasting cognitive bonds that affect

all aspects of Aboriginal life” (2000, p. 199). She believes that schools across Canada have failed to support the learning of Aboriginal languages and the transmission of Aboriginal beliefs. By inviting elders to collaborate in curriculum development and delivery, schools can help to honour and nurture those languages:

Indigenous languages and their symbolic, verbal, and unconscious orders structure Indigenous knowledge; therefore, educators cannot stand outside of Indigenous languages to understand Indigenous knowledge... Aboriginal languages are irreplaceable resources in any educational reforms. The first principle of any educational plan constructed on Indigenous knowledge must be to respect Indigenous languages (2002, pp. 17-18).

Language is far more than words and grammar. An inclusive classroom curriculum respectfully includes Aboriginal languages and the worldview within which those languages reside.

Curriculum Development

Culturally responsive teaching, a theory that evolved in the 1980s when multicultural education was becoming a national goal, is an important precept in the development of First Nations curriculum. Nawang Phuntsog (1999) examined many theorists’ writings and found that culturally responsive teachers need to possess the five attributes of cultural understanding; an ability to examine their own attitudes and beliefs; nurturing and inclusiveness in classrooms; respect for diversity; and a transformative curriculum that promotes social change through critical thinking (Phuntsog, 1999, pp. 100-101).

Pewewardy, Cornel-Hammer, and Cahape expand upon Phuntsog’s five-part conceptual framework for culturally responsive teaching in their article “Culturally Responsive Teaching for American Indian Students” (2003). The first attribute, cultural understanding, enables a teacher to understand the importance of a child’s culture, and use it to assist the child in achieving success. It is helpful, but is not essential, for the teacher and

students to share the same culture. Teacher training and increased Aboriginal course content for student teachers can help develop cultural understanding: “Preservice teachers need to study the history and culture of Indian children including their values, stories, music, and myths, as well as racism” (Pewewardy et al, p. 3). A willingness to examine one’s attitudes and beliefs, the second attribute, is an ongoing (and sometimes painful) process.

Inclusiveness and respect for diversity, the third and fourth attributes, require an attitude of acceptance of all racial and ethnic groups inside the classroom. This means utilizing the expertise and knowledge of elders and others in the community so that students can learn their Native language and culture (Pewewardy et al, p. 4). Transformative curriculum, the fifth attribute, encourages critical thinking and helps empower students to believe they can make a difference by questioning inequities and injustices.

Cultural standards for Alaska schools developed by the Alaska Native Knowledge Network expand on the attributes listed above and describe their practical application. Through the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, the Alaska Native Knowledge Network produced the document *Alaska Standards for Culturally Responsive Schools* (1998), which describes standards for education. The document emphasizes that local knowledge needs to be included in curricula through respectful consultation with elders, parents, and other community members. Culturally responsive educators use local knowledge and environment in their work, utilize community resources, participate in community events and activities, and work closely with parents (pp. 4-5).

A culturally responsive curriculum is based in local knowledge and language, and ensures that children “are well grounded in the deeper aspects of the associated beliefs and practices” (p. 6). Such a curriculum recognizes that culture is dynamic rather than static, and

is able to adapt traditional knowledge to current issues; views people and events from the community as important sources of knowledge; views oral knowledge as equal in importance to knowledge derived from print material; and encourages students to see their local culture in a “global context” (pp. 5-6).

One model of curriculum development that supports these attributes and standards is the Generative Curriculum Model, developed over a period of seventeen years by Early Childhood educators Jessica Ball and Alan Pence in conjunction with several Aboriginal communities. The program began as a response to a “perceived disconnection between mainstream ECCD [Early Childhood Curriculum Development] training programs and [Aboriginal communities’] own distinct circumstances, histories, cultures, and goals,” (Ball & Pence, 2006, p. 4). It is based on the idea that First Nations want to ensure their own cultural survival and also enable their children’s success in the dominant culture.

The Generative Curriculum Model “could be used in partnerships with other communities elsewhere and in other human service fields” (2006, p. 7). Generative curriculum is co-created by elders from participating communities in partnership with other participants, including non-Aboriginal instructors. It is based on the principle that because there is no universally accepted cross-cultural theory of child development, conventional ECCD theory is not necessarily appropriate in an Aboriginal setting:

No empirical or logical bases exist to assume the validity of theories and research findings about child development across cultures, socio-political conditions, or geographic contexts. Thus, we cannot presume the universal appropriateness of various strategies of promoting children’s growth and development that have been effective in largely middle-class European and North American settings (Ball & Pence, 2006, p. 11).

In order to develop ECCD curricula that reflect the culture of the communities in which they are delivered, Ball and Pence developed a model for curriculum development that

values and utilizes the knowledge and wisdom of elders and other community members. The Generative Curriculum Model seeks “to engender community dialogue, exploration, and testing of the validity and desirability of concepts and practices in the context of the community, in a manner similar to that called for by Indigenous educators Armstrong (2000), Battiste (2000), and Cajete (1999)” (Ball & Pence, 2006, p. 10). Evans, McDonald, and Nyce, also writing about collaborative curriculum development in the university setting (1999), stress that “the product *and* the process of research must benefit the community” (p. 191). They caution that during the process of collaborative curriculum development it is important for both Aboriginal communities and educational institutions to maintain autonomy (p. 192).

Generative curriculum development involves dialogue between elders, community members involved in human services delivery, instructors, and students. It does not discount either conventional academic theories of child development or traditional First Nations practices. Rather, it respects both, engaging participants in critical decision-making that considers the best practices of both paradigms. Ball and Pence explain, “By bringing together the worlds of Western academia and Indigenous communities, plausible alternatives to Euro-North American modernist ways of conceptualizing child development and care are created” (p. 14).

Because I am interested in the aspects of Generative Curriculum Development that can be applied to the development of school music curricula, I report here on the features of Generative Curriculum Development that are applicable to a broad range of subject areas, rather than those that are specific to ECCD. These are principles and strategies that could be used by elementary school educators like myself.

The First Nations Partnership Programs developed by Ball and Pence are based on “a postmodernist valuing of multiple voices” (2004, p. 461). In order to honour those multiple voices, a community member called an “intergenerational facilitator” conducts regular meetings with elders, other “respected community members,” students, and instructors (2004, p. 463). In this way, all the stakeholders in the educational process collaborate in the development of a new curriculum that reflects Aboriginal knowledge and beliefs. Elders are co-instructors in this process, each with “his or her own special knowledge” (2004, p. 469). An elder who is familiar with each person’s area of expertise coordinates the other elders’ participation. This coordinator is familiar with the participants, and knows who to call on for expertise on various topics. The elders often model traditional approaches to education—“listening, encouraging sharing, and facilitating the elaboration of ideas and action plans that are themselves expression of Indigenous cultures” (2004, p. 469).

Ball notes that the Generative Curriculum Model can be challenging for educators who normally use a pre-determined curriculum, because the Generative Curriculum Model involves a creative process in which curriculum is developed through collaboration and discussion (2004, p. 468). For each new course to be delivered, a new curriculum evolves, through collaboration, which reflects “the unique knowledge that resides in the local community” (p. 468). Though this process may be difficult at first for instructors who are used to more conventional academic practices, it is ultimately much more rewarding, resulting in “a holistic experience, grounded in the social context” (p. 468). Another challenge inherent in this model is its higher financial cost, due to the necessity of paying elders for their time, as well as the inevitability of smaller numbers of students enrolled in

locally developed courses in a labour-intensive curriculum (Anderson, personal communication, 2008).

In addition, Evans, McDonald and Nyce have pointed out the inherent contradictions of the two goals of full participation of First Nations in the dominant culture and the decolonization of Aboriginal education (1999, p. 196). Thus, a third challenge of this curriculum model is honouring Aboriginal cultural survival while working to include Aboriginal interests in the curriculum of educational institutions like public schools, colleges and universities. Ever-present is the danger of the Aboriginal partners' input being subsumed by the interests of non-Aboriginal curriculum developers.

Further, it is often a challenge for instructors in this constructivist process to begin to see knowledge as something that comes from within oneself and is subjective, rather than as something external, objective, and quantifiable that is contained in books. Instructors working within this model must learn to foreground local knowledge. Ball quotes one instructor who comments, "I've always thought of adult learners as being contributors, but never quite so much as being contributors first—asking what they know first and then going to the textbook or other type of material second" (2004, p. 470).

Non-Aboriginal instructors in this program respect and value, but do not try to become experts on, Indigenous knowledge, nor do they edit knowledge contributed by students and community members. As instructors become open to new ways of thinking and perceiving, most find that this openness is its own reward. One instructor describes learning to wait instead of expecting immediate answers from her students, and learning to read her students' often-subtle messages more sensitively. Another explains that she began to understand how education encompasses a much wider circle than just the classroom: "Learning is not

neutral, and information is not neutral. It has impact, it has meaning, it has motion” (p. 472). Through the principles of inclusion and community involvement, the Generative Curriculum approach makes education accessible, meaningful, and responsive to the community it serves.

Ideas for applying principles of inclusion to public school curriculum development are found in the British Columbia Ministry of Education document *Planning Guide and Framework for Development of Aboriginal Learning Resources* (1998). The document recommends that a committee consisting of members of the Aboriginal community, school district staff (including a practicing teacher), and parents be formed prior to the development of an Aboriginal curriculum. It stresses the need for input from all of these sectors:

In the past, materials have been developed that seemed to meet the needs of the school curriculum but did not draw upon community input; materials have been developed in the community that were not compatible with the curriculum of the school. Such well intentioned but uninformed materials generally end up collecting dust on a shelf (p. 10).

The curriculum must reflect community values, respect community protocol, and be appropriate for the age group and grade level of students for which it is intended. Mowatt’s storytelling resource, described in the previous section, is an example of a resource that contains these features.

The authors of the *Planning Guide* observe that one challenge of Aboriginal curriculum development is converting oral knowledge into printed form. They stress the need to observe community protocols about reproducing oral knowledge and traditions, and note the concern Aboriginal communities understandably and rightly have over the potential loss of control of their traditional knowledge. Cultural property, the authors point out, “includes not only land and other tangible property, but ideas, traditions, and other non-tangibles” (p.

15). Those non-tangibles, of course, include songs and stories. Curriculum developers need to be mindful of these important issues and work with elders while respecting community protocol. The *Planning Guide* contains many practical and useful guidelines and suggestions for interviewing informants, dealing with copyright issues, conducting archival research, and shaping curriculum content.

Shared Learnings: Integrating B.C. Aboriginal Content K-10, is a companion handbook to the *Planning Guide* that, like the *Planning Guide*, was published by the British Columbia Ministry of Education in 1998. It provides instructional strategies, recommended resources, and a set of prescribed learning outcomes from the Ministry of Education's Integrated Resource Packages (IRPs) for each grade level in each subject area. Although it contains some usable information in other subject areas, I was disappointed in *Shared Learnings'* approach to the development of fine arts curricular material. Its music, dance and drama lessons are short and sparse, and written in such general terms that they are of limited practical use. Although the fine arts lesson plan section directs the reader to the appendices at the end of the book for further guidance, there are no resources listed in the appendices that pertain to cultural performance—though this may simply reflect the dearth of published material on the subject due to ownership and protocol issues, and the fact that elders, rather than published material, are the best resources.

The introduction to the handbook explains that the Aboriginal world view “sees the natural world as complete systems that are interrelated parts of a larger whole,” and that “the Shared Learnings and instructional strategies...are intended to document, recognize, and express this holistic perspective” (p. 6), yet the format of the handbook contradicts this philosophy. *Shared Learnings* divides First Nations cultural performance into the discrete

components of music, dance, drama, second language studies, and visual art, treating each as a separate subject. In her thesis about the inclusion of Nisga'a cultural performance in schools, Juniper (2000) also notes these problems with *Shared Learnings'* compartmentalized approach to the arts:

The document seems to have primarily a social studies focus complemented by occasional music, dance, and drama lessons. Although each of the cultural performance activities included here clearly describe the ethical considerations of Aboriginal experiences, the inclusion of some music, dance, and drama activities presented in the document better reflect the compartmentalization of standard B.C. Ministry arts curricula than the importance of these traditions as an integral part of the Aboriginal cultural fabric (p. 48).

In the music and dance categories, *Shared Learnings* recommends interaction between students and community members in the form of guest speakers who share songs or dances, or “a field trip to a gathering, potlatch, powwow, feast or other event” (p. 25). These are appropriate and usable suggestions.

Juniper (2000) points out that one pedagogical method that supports the spirit and philosophy of Aboriginal education and culture is the Orff-Schulwerk method (p. 44). Developed by the German-born Carl Orff during the decades from 1924 to 1948 (Randel, p. 357; Frazee & Kreuter, pp. 9-11), Orff pedagogy values the experiential aspects of learning music. Like First Nations cultural performance, the Orff method weaves all aspects of the performing arts into music curricula, integrating music, movement, speech, and drama. Carl Orff expressed his holistic and experiential philosophy in this way: “Never music alone, but music connected with movement, dance, and speech—not to be listened to, meaningful only in active participation” (as cited in Frazee & Kreuter, p. 14).

Orff method incorporates music that is elemental: “an improvised music shorn of centuries of convention; a music that [is] magical and spiritual and pure...using movement as

a fundamental component” (Frazee & Kreuter p. 10). Rhythm, wrote Orff, “is no abstract concept, it is life itself. Rhythm is active and produces effects; it is the unifying power of language, music and movement” (as cited in Juniper, p. 44).

Improvisation and exploration are also key components of Orff teaching, which values the process of learning by discovery over final product. Another important precept of Orff pedagogy is the use of poetry and folk music indigenous to the child’s own culture and surroundings, as well as music drawn from folk cultures from around the world. Because speech developmentally precedes singing, Orff material for young children draws its rhythms from spoken poetry as well as from songs. Finally, Orff teaching emphasizes the joy of communal music making. Frazee writes, “in an Orff classroom music is a social act” (p. 217).

All of these facets of Orff pedagogy align well with the spirit and content of Aboriginal cultural performance. Cultural performance blends music, dance, drama, and material culture, as does Orff pedagogy. Cultural performance and Orff teaching are both elemental and experiential, emphasizing rhythm, monophonic singing, and improvised movement. Both value and use indigenous stories and songs. Both value the communal, social aspects of music exploration and performance. And finally, traditional ways of teaching cultural performance value the process of learning and doing over the final product or performance. Orff teaching, likewise, emphasizes process—the ideas arising from free exploration, improvisation, and creativity. Orff teaching is a natural framework for cultural performance in a school music program.

Cultural performance, presented collaboratively, respectfully and mindfully, helps children to learn both language and cultural knowledge while having fun. As an Orff-trained

classroom music teacher, I see a need and an opportunity to include Ts'msyen cultural performance, presented respectfully and collaboratively, in my teaching.

Chapter Four: My Study

“To understand the heart and soul of a music, to earn the right to hear it, you must respect and honor the culture that creates it” –Mickey Hart, *Songcatchers*

Personal Background

All research takes place through the researcher’s unique lens or worldview.

Interviews are not neutral instruments for the collecting of data; they are vital and dynamic interactions between two or more people that lead to “negotiated, contextually based results” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 698). Those interactions are shaped and informed by the life experiences and viewpoints of the researcher and interviewee.

My worldview was shaped, in large part, by my ethnic history. My father was a Holocaust refugee. Several of my family members were executed by Nazis, and other relatives escaped to Palestine and Costa Rica. My father, grandmother, aunt and uncle escaped from Vienna in 1939 and began their lives in America as Jewish refugees. They were resilient survivors and built new, successful lives against the backdrop of their unspoken sadness.

Although my relatives seldom spoke of the past, I understood from a very early age that genocide and oppression are real, that governments do not necessarily exist for the protection of their citizens, and that “the system” can turn against you at any time. I perceived myself to be different from my friends in ways I did not have the words for as a child. I grew up identifying with all disenfranchised peoples, and with a strong sense of outrage at injustice—not only at the injustices that my family had suffered, but injustices to people everywhere, including those indigenous to North America. This background and my

interest in music and Orff pedagogy led me to question how my music teaching could include and honour the thirty-five percent of my students who are First Nations.

Protocol

The danger of cultural appropriation is always present when a non-Aboriginal person attempts to learn and write about First Nations culture. The University of Victoria Ethics of Cultural Appropriation Project defines cultural appropriation as

those practices involving the non-consensual apprehension and/or misuse of cultural knowledge outside of its local and traditional contexts. Examples of cultural appropriation (CA) are found in the removal of artifacts or human remains from indigenous sites for display in western museums; in the confiscation of traditional plant knowledge and materials for commercial research; and in the adoption, without consent, of indigenous spiritual beliefs or artistic styles, including art work, clothing, stories and songs (2008, University of Victoria Centre for Studies in Religion and Society website).

Cultural appropriation, then, is exploitation: the use of cultural knowledge outside of its cultural context, without proper consent or consultation. In keeping with Ts'msyen protocol that adheres to the Ayaawx, or rules for living²⁰, I have collaborated and consulted with Ts'msyen elders at every stage of my research, asking permission to use any and all material I recorded and/or transcribed.

My goal is to give back to the communities of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas, rather than to exploit and take from them. The fact that I am not of First Nations descent or background presented certain barriers in my research. I do not have the intuitive understanding, the ways of knowing, that would come from growing up Ts'msyen. However, I have done lots of listening and learning and have had the help and support of many people. Three of my mentors, Sue Spalding, Charlotte Guno, and Patricia Vickers, were especially passionate

²⁰ Ayaawx are rules for living contained in the Adaawx. They include respect, compassion and spiritual balance (Vickers, 2008).

about my research, providing guidance and encouraging me through numerous doubts and setbacks.

Two Whale Stories (Roberts, 2008) was the result of my collaboration with Mildred Roberts and Melodie Johnson over a period of seven months. Although Melodie was unable to come to my classroom due to work commitments, Mildred attended some of my music classes along with her cousin Frances Christiansen, meeting my students and providing valuable input as the story developed. Mildred attended all three performances, Melodie attended one, and Don Roberts, the owner of the second whale story, attended two. Don publicly acknowledged the transcription and interpretation of his contemporary *adaawx* at the Kitsumkalum feast hall on May 8, 2008; I describe that event in detail in the section entitled “The Story of *Two Whale Stories*.”

At all stages of my research, elders and organizations have emphasized the importance of following Ts’msyen protocol, and I have endeavored to follow it in every way. All of the Ts’msyen people I spoke with, as well as McDonald (2004), describe Ts’msyen protocol as being based on the collective wisdom of elders. Thus, before beginning my research, I met with elders’ groups from both Kitsumkalum and Kitselas, and received their approval before proceeding. I initially approached the Kitsumkalum Band Council as well, who directed me to speak with the elders. In keeping with Ts’msyen protocol, I recognized that the Band Council is an elected leadership, and asked permission of the elders as my primary authority. For the same reason, individuals from Kitselas recommended that I go first to the Kitselas Elders’ group rather than to the Band Council, and I did so. After discussing the project and its goals with both the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas elders’ groups, each group recommended a number of elders with cultural knowledge who might agree to

participate in my study. I contacted several of these individuals and discussed my project with them, although I was unable to contact all of them. I finalized a list of six persons who agreed to be interviewed, and chose an unstructured, open-ended format for the interviews, in order to more freely allow the elders' voices and ideas to be heard. When the interviews were completed, I gave CDs and later transcripts of the interviews to all participants for their approval and edits.

In developing classroom material, I followed the protocol that had been outlined by the elders, using either common property songs or recently composed material that the composers had granted permission to use. In accordance with the Ayaawx, I have not claimed the songs and stories as my own work, but rather, credit those who allowed me to use them, thus adding to the power of Kitsumkalum.²¹ At Mildred Roberts' request, I registered a copyright of the Roberts family story *Two Whale Stories* with the Canadian Intellectual Property Office in her name. Before publication of this thesis, I submitted my study results to the interviewees and elders of the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas communities for edits and final approval. Transcripts of the interviews are archived with either the Kitsumkalum or Kitselas administrative offices, depending upon which community the elder is from, or where the elder requested that it be archived. In keeping with their mandate to use locally developed curricula, the instructors at Na Aksa Gila Kyew Learning Centre, the Kitsumkalum adult education school, have asked Mildred Roberts for permission to use *Two Whale Stories* as part of their curricular material, and she has given that permission. In this

²¹ I refer to the quote from Delgamuukw found in Chapter II.6, "Owned Songs":

My power is carried in my House's histories, songs, dances and crests. It is recreated at the Feast when the histories are told, the songs and dances performed, and the crests displayed (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw, p. 7).

way, the curricular materials that grew out of my research have been returned to the community.

I hope that this work will contribute to the body of knowledge that seeks to correct some of the cultural and spiritual damage caused by colonization. Ts'msyen scholar Patricia Vickers (2008) writes that "oppression is a spiritual condition that can only be transformed by a spiritual act" (p. 10). The Adaawx show that the way to accomplish this transformation is through mutual respect:

Through our Adaawx, our ancestors continue to teach us that because everything is alive we must learn to respect our environment. The Sm'algyax word for respect is loomsk and means honour, or to hold sacred...Adaawx teach us that there is a way to restore balance when a human being has acted disrespectfully (Vickers, 2008, p. 68).

I consider it an honour of the highest order to have been entrusted with the songs and stories contained in this thesis, and I hope that they can help restore balance to a system founded on an imbalance of privilege. It is my belief, supported by the teachings in the Adaawx, that when research is done respectfully, collaboratively, and with integrity and heart, the results will reflect that intent. I close this section by quoting Charlotte Guno, the Kitsumkalum Education Coordinator:

As long as there is that trustworthy, honest relationship that we develop together, and...we both feel sincere about the project, and we both have a heartfelt sincerity in bringing out our songs, our music, our history...if both of us, and all of us, working together, feel that same way, I can't see where we could go wrong (personal communication, 2007).

Ethics

The international humanities and social science communities agree upon certain ethics guidelines for research on humans, which are very similar to those outlined in the Canadian Institutes of Health Research's *Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (1998, pp. i.5-i.6). I discuss here the three of these principles that apply to my study. The most fundamental principle for research on humans is respect for human dignity; this means respect for all human interests, "from bodily to psychological to cultural integrity" (p. i.5). Another important principle is informed consent. Study participants must be fully cognizant of their role in the research, how the research will be used, and its implications. Informed consent is consent given freely and without coercion. A third principle, respect for privacy and confidentiality, means that the use and release of personal information is at the discretion of the study participant.

In addition to these general principles, *Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* also includes a section on research involving Aboriginal peoples (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, pp. 6.1-6.4). The document lists a number of widely recognized good practices that researchers working with Aboriginal communities should consider. These practices include respecting culture and traditions; working in partnership with communities, including design of the project; consultation with community members; and designing research so that it serves the needs of the community and respects varying viewpoints within the community. Other good practices include providing the community with the opportunity to give feedback to research findings (1) at the preliminary report stage, and (2) before publication of the research. Researchers should protect "cultural estate and

other property” and should provide communities with any data collected in “an agreed-upon repository” (pp. 6.3-6.4).

The Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS) has also published guidelines for research with humans, *Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North* (1997). In addition to detailing many of the same principles described above, this document adds the important caveat that researchers should “abide by any local laws, regulations or protocols that may be in place in the region(s) in which they work” (p. 5).

In keeping with these ethical principles and good practices, I followed Ts'msyen protocols as described in the preceding section, seeking approval from elders' groups before beginning my research. The UNBC Research Ethics Board accepted my proposal on December 20, 2006, and I began the interviews the following summer. I gave each participant a letter of informed consent that they signed prior to the interview. The letter stated (1) my research plans and goals; (2) that the participants could choose to be quoted without being identified; (3) that the participants could refuse to answer any question, and could withdraw from the study at any time; and (4) that research transcripts and recordings would be kept in a secure location. All of the participants chose to be identified by name in the study.

Payment

I discussed payment with the participants subsequent to their agreeing to take part in the study. I compensated each participant at the rate of \$20.00 per hour. This is the hourly rate that School District 82 pays First Nations role models. A summer grant from the Social

Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in 2007 covered \$200 of this cost, and I paid the remainder from personal funds.

Research Questions and Goals

My research was grounded in the belief that First Nations music and cultural performance are important and need to be essential components of school curriculum. Performing such material is source of pride and validation for First Nations students, and a means of understanding and enrichment for non-Aboriginal students. A void currently exists in useable guidelines, resources and lesson plans for delivering such locally developed material.

My research focused on three goals. First, I wanted to learn whether the elders of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas felt that including Ts'msyen music in a public school program was a good idea; if so, what that inclusion should look like; and what protocols would need to be followed. My second goal was to record and notate common property songs and stories that Ts'msyen elders were willing to share. My third goal was to develop teaching material from those songs and stories.

Method

My research method was participatory and community-based. Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a methodology that seeks social change through the active involvement and partnership of the community and individuals that are part of the research. PAR honours and respects the history, knowledge and values of the people and communities in question. A central tenet of PAR is the use of collaboration and discussion, rather than data collection that attempts objectivity, as essential means of information gathering. Reason (1994) emphasizes the central importance of the community in PAR:

In keeping with the emphasis on PAR as inquiry as empowerment, the actual methodologies that in orthodox research would be called research design, data gathering, data analysis, and so on take a second place to the emergent processes of collaboration and dialogue that empower, motivate, increase self-esteem, and develop community solidarity (p. 329).

Reason notes that in PAR, community meetings and events are important aspects of research and can include “storytelling...plays and skits, puppets, song, drawing and painting, and other engaging activities” so that the group or community can “find ways to tell and thus reclaim their own story” (p. 329). During the course of this study, I met with elders’ groups and spoke at length with individuals; attended a dance group rehearsal at Kitselas and numerous dance performances; and attended three community feasts at Kitsumkalum, including one in which my students performed.

In designing my research, I followed the template for community-based PAR provided by McDonald (2003) in *People of the Robin*. McDonald (2004) notes that “this community-centred approach of the Indigenous methodology provides several opportunities: to identify community needs and issues, to organize community ‘guides’ and mentors to work with and apply community standards” (p. 89). Such methodology “acknowledges and uses local epistemologies and metaphysics rather than Western ones” (p. 90). McDonald’s twelve-step research process consists of: preliminary consultation with elders and community members; archival research; community review of the research findings; ethnographic research; chapter by chapter revisions based on community consultation; review of the manuscript first by a steering committee and then by the community; editing of the manuscript based on feedback from the community; final submission to community and final revisions; and final community approval (2003, pp. xviii-xix).

Basing my research upon this model, I began by doing background research, locating and reviewing archival material related to Ts'msyen history, music and cultural performance. Next, I spoke with the Kitsumkalum Band council, who directed me to speak to elders about the research project. I met with elders' groups at both Kitsumkalum and Kitselas. Both groups supported my project and suggested several individuals I could interview. I contacted those people whose names had been mentioned the most often and by the greatest number of people, and six of them agreed to consult with me in the form of an interview. This is known as "reputational" sampling, in which knowledgeable individuals—or, in this case, groups of knowledgeable individuals—identify good interview subjects on the basis of their expertise in the interview topic. The six people who agreed to be interviewed included two education workers, three elders and three "junior elders," a social worker, and two people who, as musicians, either lead or have led dance groups. One comes from Kitkatla and one from Lax Kw'alaams; the others' lineage includes Kitsumkalum, Kitselas, or both.

The bulk of classroom material I present here was provided by Mildred Roberts, including eight of the nine songs in the appendix—all the songs except Don Wells' composition, "Happy Song." Don granted permission for me to reproduce and teach "Happy Song," with the stipulation that there be at least one Ts'msyen person present when it is being taught or sung. Both Mildred Roberts and Melodie Johnson taught me "Sing, Big Potato," and Don talked about it in his interview. Charlotte Guno and Mildred played the "Dzin Dzin" game for me, and sang it together. (When Mildred and I recently presented Dzin Dzin at an Aboriginal language conference, many of the Ts'msyen people present knew it and sang along.)

I met with the interviewees individually between July and December 2007, audio-recording nearly eleven hours of interview material and transcribing over 150 pages of text. Immediately following each interview I copied and gave compact discs (CDs) of the interview to each participant. When the transcription of each interview was complete, I submitted it to each participant for edits and feedback. Using qualitative analysis software (see next section), I categorized recurring themes or comments arising from the interviews, and submitted the categorized text to the participants for revisions, comments or approval. Lastly, I submitted the final manuscript to the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas communities for final revisions and approval.

Technology Used

I recorded the interviews using a Roland CD-2 CF/CD digital recorder, a small, portable, high quality recorder with an excellent internal microphone. This recorder enabled me to easily make high-quality recordings in any location, and immediately afterward, onsite, to copy CDs to give the interview participants. I used Finale Allegro 2007 software to notate publishable versions of the songs. For thematic analysis of interview narratives, I used nVivo software, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) designed to support the analysis of qualitative data inductively and deductively through the creation of hierarchical categories called nodes (see “Analysis of Narratives” section).

Notation of Songs

Mildred Roberts provided the written transcription of Sm’algyax song lyrics, and their English translations. I initially transcribed the songs to musical notation by hand, later using Finale Allegro software to make final copies. Verification of my musical transcriptions was provided by Dr. Laura Spitzer, D.M.A., professor of music at New Mexico State

University in Las Cruces. To provide further verification, I sang the transcribed versions of the songs to Mildred, and she made corrections as needed.

Interviews

The purpose of an unstructured interview is to let narratives emerge in a spontaneous manner without the constraints of pre-formulated or rigidly imposed questions. Because the participant guides the direction of the conversation, unstructured interviewing offers a depth of understanding than is often unavailable in more structured formats. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) write, “The objective is not to dictate interpretation, but to provide an environment conducive to the production of the range and complexity of meanings that address relevant issues, and not be confined by predetermined agendas” (p. 17). My goal in the interview process was partly to ask questions, but also to discover what questions to ask.

I began by asking most participants the same open-ended questions. The process of several people shedding light on the same topic in different and unique ways is called crystallization. Richardson (1994) believes that crystallization “provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know” (p. 522). Crystallization allows multiple perspectives, like the facets of a prism, to be illuminated in spontaneous and unpredictable ways.

To help clarify those perspectives, I made my interview questions as broad as possible, “rather than prematurely delimit the study with a narrow question” (Morse, 1994, p. 226). I began the interview by asking the participants to describe personal memories that were associated with music, and the role that music has played in their lives. At various points and in varying order during the interviews, I asked the following questions:

- What are some of your ideas about Ts'msyen music in public schools? Is it a good idea?
- What are some respectful ways we can include Ts'msyen music in a school program in Terrace? How should it look?
- What types of songs are appropriate to use in a school curriculum? Which are not appropriate?
- Do you want to talk about some of the memories you have of songs?

The six elders who agreed to participate in my study are all in various leadership roles in the cultural or educational lives of their communities. I asked them how they would like to be introduced, and the following is what they told me.

Participants

Charlotte Guno: I am a Ts'msyen woman, Gisbutwada—Waaps Nishaywaaxs. My maternal lineage is Gitselasu; my grandmother Effie Harrison was a matriarch in the house of Nishaywaaxs.

I am a high school graduate, attended college, and have been employed as a receptionist, bookkeeper, and office manager for the past forty-five years. I presently hold the position of Education Administrator for the Kitsumkalum Band and truly enjoy my work.

I embrace our heritage and I am equally proud of my culture. Being a residential school survivor, practicing my culture came late in life. My learning of the Sm'algyax language is in progress.

I am an advocate of education. I believe in thinking out of the box to make education enjoyable and successful for our youth. The key components to our successful adult school

are a safe place, sincere teachers, and flexibility. My dream is to have a school of choice for First Nations. Connecting education with our culture will instill pride and confidence in our students, therefore increasing our success rate.

Lorna Johnson: I am from the village of Kitselas. My matriarch name is Hamootk, which means Healing Herbs of Grizzly. I belong to the Laxgibuu (Wolf) tribe, House of Medeek (Grizzly Bear). I speak fluent Sm'algyax and work as a Ts'msyen role model for School District 82 in Terrace. I am the mother of six children.

Melodie Johnson: I am a mother of three and a grandmother of nine. I am very proud to be a member of the Ts'msyen Nation, and now have my grandmother, Beatrice Innes/Starr's, Indian name: Badaal, "the whale who slaps her tail on the water to warn the tribe that danger is coming." I make my own regalia and drums. I am a dancer, writer, creator of songs, and an Indian dance instructor. I am currently the Aboriginal Patient Liaison at Mills Memorial Hospital.

Debbie Moore: Nox' Hagwiloog'm Gibuu di waayu. Translation: My name is Strong Mother Wolf. My English name is Debbie Moore. I was born and raised in Terrace, living for the first five years at Usk. I attended public schools in Terrace, completing my education in the Northwest Community College upgrading program. It is never too late to get an education.

I am of Ts'msyen and Nisga'a descent; my matrilineal side is from Gingolx. Both of my parents attended residential school. After my father had begun residential school, my

grandfather enfranchised, and for this reason, I grew up “non-status.” It’s been a journey recapturing my culture, who I am. I am a peaceful woman, sharing her story so others can heal.

Mildred Roberts: I am Ts’msyen and live in the community of Kitsumkalum. I was born and raised in Port Essington, married and had children there, and lived there for thirty-two years, until I moved to Kitsumkalum with my husband and six children—four boys and two girls. The six children have exploded to twenty-seven grandchildren and eleven (soon to be twelve) great-grandchildren.

My first language—and for a long time, my only language—was Sm’algayax. When I began attending Indian Day School, I learned enough English to get by. My family hunted and fished in camps, so I was in and out of school. We didn’t go to school, but we learned the language of the woods, the sea, the language of the sky. You do that by listening to the whisper of the wind, how fast the clouds are going, how fast the birds are flying, the way the leaves are flying.

I finished my formal schooling in the 1980s, when I finished my high school equivalency. My worst subject was math. I taught Sm’algayax at UNBC from the 1990s until 2003, first with Emmon Bach, and then with Margaret Anderson. From 1992 to 1998, I led a youth group for Kitsumkalum young people that included Junior Firefighters, Police Cadets, culture classes, music, jujitsu, and crafts.

I work as a Drug and Alcohol Worker at Kitsumkalum Health Services, and teach Sm’algayax language, both at the ‘Na Aksa Gila Kyew school and informally in my office at Kitsumkalum Health.

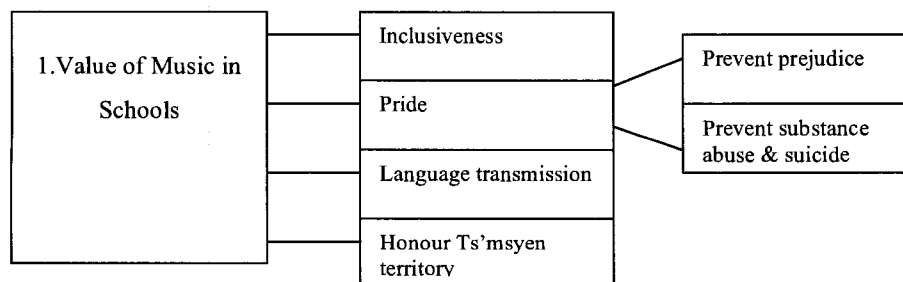
Don Wells: I was born and raised in Lax Kw'alaams. I have been living here in Terrace since 1997. I belong to the house of Salidiks Mediik. I am Gisbutwada, out of the Gitandau Tribe in Lax Kw'alaams. I have been a musician since grade seven and have only played brass instruments. In later years, a group of people in Lax Kw'alaams formed a drum and dance group that was in need of songs to sing. Much reliance was on finding old songs that were hard to find, as well as the meaning of the song itself. Not knowing too much about our culture and how/why songs were written, I had asked my grandma Vera Henry about writing my own songs. She had told me that I didn't need to know our language to write songs, and to go right ahead and write songs to my heart's content. I wrote a couple of songs before I moved from Lax Kw'alaams to Terrace. One song was written after a feast hosted by the Laxgibuu in Kitsumkalum; I wrote it because there was no celebration song for the people being given their name. The second song was a Four Crest song that I wrote before leaving Lax Kw'alaams. Not long after leaving Lax Kw'alaams, this Four Crest Song had gone through its first variation, one that all people have come to know as the Ts'msyen Entrance/Exit Song. Since that time in Lax Kw'alaams, I have written two other songs, with others in progress.

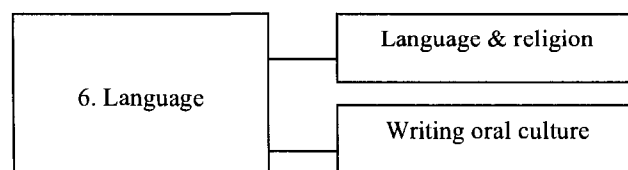
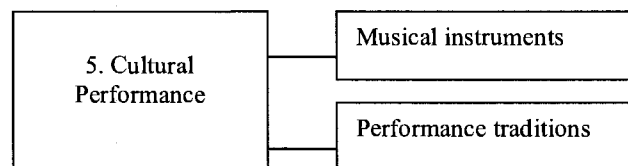
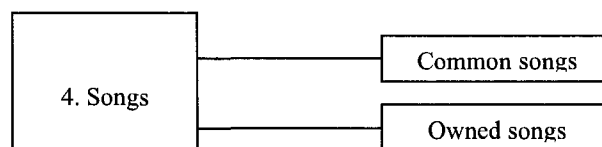
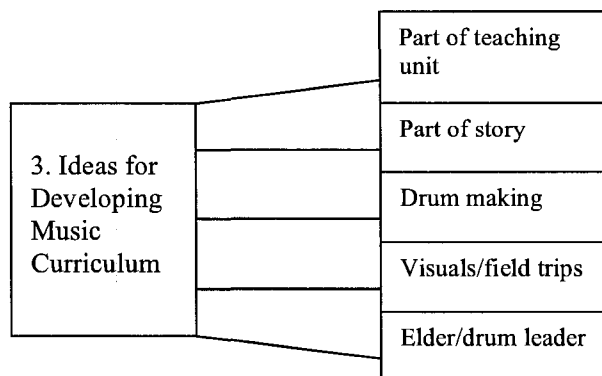
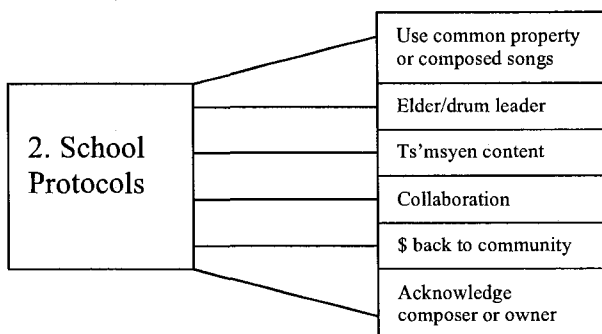
Chapter Five: Analysis of Narratives

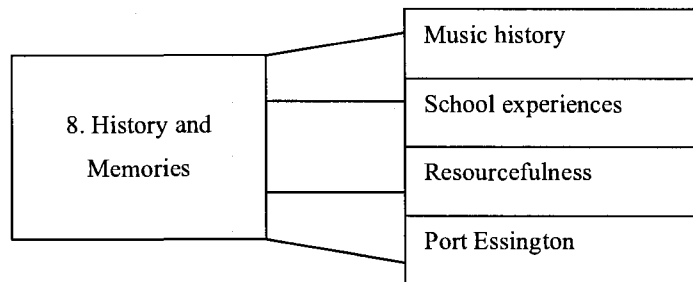
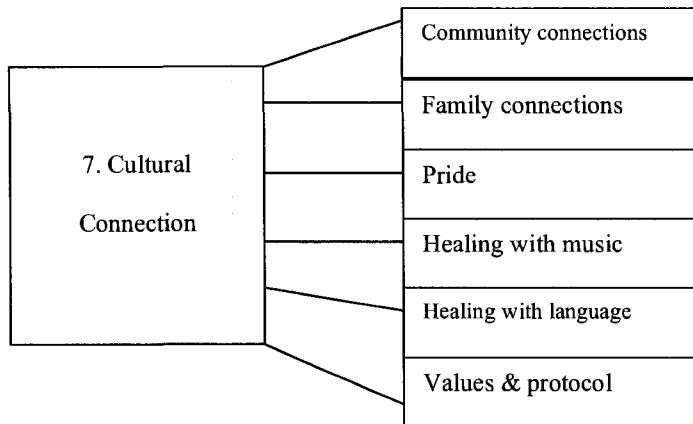
I began my analysis of the interview narratives by using NVivo software to categorize the subject matter that had emerged. Topic categories that the participants indicated were important by emphasizing them or mentioning them more than once, or topic categories that occurred in more than one interview, are called nodes. Nodes containing sub-categories are hierarchical, and are called tree nodes. Non-hierarchical nodes, or nodes that do not contain sub-categories, are called free nodes. I identified three free nodes and eight tree nodes in the narratives. The three free nodes are experiences with music (general), loss of culture, and prejudice.

The eight tree nodes I identified are: value of music in schools, protocols for music in schools, ideas for delivering music curriculum, songs, cultural performance, language, cultural reconnection, and historical information. The eight tree nodes contain the child nodes (sub-categories) indicated below.

Figure 2: Nodes







As the above diagrams show, the NVivo program uses a taxonomic system of data sorting, allowing the researcher to rank the selected subject matter into hierarchical relationships. This system works well with certain kinds of data, and not as well with other kinds. The relationships of some of my nodes to the research questions are difficult to address in an analysis of this kind. Because of the nature of unstructured interviews, the participants' narratives unfolded in ways that I had not anticipated. Sometimes the respondents answered my questions in short, point-form fashion, but more often they related their stories in fluid and richly detailed ways, providing important context to their thoughts about music in schools. In addition to the topic of music in schools, they taught me about

their lives and culture: their personal histories, families, ancestors, customs, children, losing and reconnecting with their culture, and healing. As I listened, I began to understand that the songs belong with the stories, the stories are connected with communities and families, and that all of these things are inseparable.

I do not believe that a thematic analysis can sufficiently capture this idea. Such analysis is a good starting point, as it allows the researcher to track topics of significance, but an analysis based on hierarchical categories does not adequately reflect or explain the connections between the diverse topics the participants covered. For example, the tree node called “cultural connection” contained the child nodes of “community connections,” “cultural healing through language,” “cultural pride,” and “values.” The “values” node contained the child node called “general protocol.” “Cultural healing through language” had originally belonged to the tree node called “language” until I changed it, and the “language” node had initially belonged to “songs” and “historical information,” because many school memories had to do with language issues. When people talked to me about being connected to their culture, they talked about music, language, healing, family, history, emotions, protocol, and cultural values. When I asked them about music, the same subjects came up. They did not see these topics as being separate; the narratives were about all of those things taken together, which form one’s identity.

I began to see that in addition to using NVivo to map certain key points, I also needed to look at the narratives in a broader way. I needed to understand how the participants saw the connection of music, cultural performance, and protocol to family, community and culture. Thus, for the first four nodes—“value of music in schools,” “protocols for music in schools,” “ideas for Ts’msyen music resources,” and “songs,”—I used NVivo to tabulate the

information that was the focus of the study. In addition to this analysis of the four nodes, I also looked at longer, thematically related sections of the narratives to understand, in a larger sense, what the participants were telling me about their lives and culture. Below, I analyze the four nodes.

Node 1: Value of Music in Schools

All six elders stated that they believe in the value of incorporating Ts'msyen cultural performance into a public school music program. Here are their thoughts, in their words:

Charlotte Guno:

Personally, I feel that it would be a great honour for our people to have Ts'msyen songs in the school. And I believe that it would have to be done according to protocol, and with elders, and with the music teacher. It can be done. And I'd be very proud if we had children in schools singing Ts'msyen songs. It would make me feel proud. And I think it would make the First Nations students in the school proud. Because you hear songs—French songs, Italian songs, Hispanic songs, Mexican songs. So why can't we hear Ts'msyen songs?

As an educator, I feel that one of the best ways to share who we are is through music, stories and song. People remember it. It's easier to remember. So I think we're on the right track. And I really believe that it's a good thing. It's a good thing to bring this into our schools. For many, many years now, we've been trying to get language into our schools. We're getting there, but I believe that if the music comes first, they get a taste of it. The kids will be saying, "Wow! That's what I want to do! I want to learn the language now!" So it's a good thing. I'm happy, and I'm hoping there would be more, or everyone feels the same way I do.

And how else can we share our culture, our music, if we can't do it in the schools? So it's a way of us showing everyone that we are proud of who we are through our music and culture. So yes, I do believe it has a place.

And I think that we're getting to the age now where things happen to us, and so you can formulate it into a story and then music. And we'll know it, and we'll own it. So that's a good way of keeping our stories alive.

Debbie Moore:

I believe that a music program that's going to draw our kids into participating is one that teaches the language—that the music is sung in our language. And the drum. Because that is something that comes from us. We all have our

own background, history. And I teach my grandkids that, you know, we have our language and culture, this is who we are. This is where we come from...

I've seen it already—as I mentioned, at the REM Lee Theatre. I've seen the pride in all of the kids, because those classes were made up of First Nations and non-Aboriginal people. I was proud of all of them. It brought them together. They had a task to do, they had a song to learn. And presenting that to the public, they did a very good job. They were respectful, they weren't out of line, they weren't noisy, they weren't distracted. They did exactly what they were supposed to do. And that's what our culture is about. You have to be focused, know who you are, where you come from.

You've heard people talking about feeling that heartbeat of the drum? Well, that's exactly how it feels when you're becoming more aware of who you are and where you come from. Proud that you're part of this nation. Proud of being part of this people. ...Song and dance have made more and more people aware of that, and brought that pride in who they are and where they come from.

Because I'm afraid of what's occurring these days with all the drugs and alcohol. In my day, growing up, all we had to contend with was alcohol. Today there's crystal meth and cocaine. The most unlikely people are being addicted. It's kids, children, that are getting addicted at a young age. I think that if we were to have cultural dances and songs in the school as a way of healing and teaching, the kids are going to remember—okay—I was part of this. It's sacred, and I have to be careful about how I behave in public, and stuff like that. ...It's going to build their self-esteem and they'll know that there's a better way. There's a better way... 'Cause [drugs are] one of my primary concerns and fears. That, and suicide. Today, little kids are trying drugs, and I think that the dancing, the songs, the culture, helps build up their self-esteem and pride in who they are. And I'd like to see more of it in the schools, because that's where you have the mixture of kids.

And I don't like the word "performing", because it's not a performance. It's culture; it's history. When our people share, it's much like the totem pole. It's sharing; there's a purpose behind it. There's a purpose other than performance. In school, you notice not too many First Nations kids in band and music. Well, number one, there's too much competition... With First Nations drumming and dancing, everybody fits in and feels comfortable.

Melodie Johnson:

I think [Ts'msyen music in school] is good. It's an interesting way for the kids to learn the culture, and about the First Nation people and the language. You know, to learn that, okay, there really are Ts'msyen Indians here, First Nation people, and there is a language they have, and they do have a culture. So it's another different way to learn about First Nations people.

...But I think what you're doing is really important. That's part of our language, and our music and history and stuff, 'cause if we don't do that now, then what we have, when it's not recorded, it's gone. 'Cause oral history is

good, but who knows the story of why Port Essington burnt down? Who knows the story of the boys who put matches in the backs of fish?

Anne: So you're saying you feel it's important to write these things down so they don't get lost. So it's insurance against them getting lost.

Melodie: Yeah. Preservation of our oral history, our music.

Lorna Johnson:

It would be good for the kids. This is what they need. They need some guidance...someone that really knows how to sing the songs

Mildred Roberts:

I think that Ts'msyen music and stories should be heard, because there are other nations; this is Ts'msyen territory. So it's important that they have the Ts'msyen story, and Ts'msyen songs and things in schools that they learn, so they know where they're at.

Don Wells:

I think it's a good idea to have our songs being put out in the schools. I remember my wife working in a target school...It was a First Nations school they were working on...And what their plan was, to take the curriculum and add First Nations content. Or make it applicable. So no doubt, music would have been a part of that curriculum—drumming and dancing and whatnot... Why not have them start it at a young age...so people can enjoy the stuff that's out there, and even give young kids the chance to understand it through a school curriculum. And there are a lot of dances that people can use.

Four main ideas about why Ts'msyen music should be included in schools emerged from the interviews: pride, inclusiveness, transmission of language and stories, and the importance of honouring Ts'msyen territory. Both Charlotte Guno and Debbie Moore, the education coordinators of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas respectively, list pride as an important reason to include Ts'msyen music in school. Charlotte mentions that it would make both her and the students feel proud to have Ts'msyen songs hold an important place in the curriculum. Debbie notes the pride she saw in the school children during a public performance, and how proud she felt in turn. One possible benefit of feeling proud as a

group is counteracting prejudice; she observes that common pride and focus united First Nations and non-Aboriginal children. Debbie mentions, as another outcome of cultural pride, the hope that cultural performance could help steer children away from drugs, alcohol, and suicide: “It’s kids, children, that are getting addicted at a young age...[Cultural performance is] going to build their self-esteem and they’ll know that there’s a better way.” Lorna Johnson, too, mentions children needing guidance as a reason to include Ts’msyen music in schools.

In addition, both Charlotte and Debbie point out the inclusive nature of Ts’msyen cultural performance, and the positive effects of that inclusiveness. Charlotte believes in sharing one’s culture, and wonders, “How else can we share our culture, our music, if we can’t do it in the schools?” Debbie observes that the inclusive and non-competitive nature of Ts’msyen singing, drumming, and dancing make it accessible to Aboriginal (and, I would add, other) children who may find music activities like band too competitive and intimidating.

Charlotte, Debbie, and Melodie all believe that music facilitates the transmission of language and stories. Charlotte recalls that for a long time, she and others concerned with language revival have advocated to have Sm’algyax language included in schools: “We’re getting there, but I believe that if the music comes first, they get a taste of [language].” In addition, she points out the importance of passing on stories. Debbie identifies one feature of a good music program as one in which “the music is sung in our language.” Melodie believes that through music, language and culture are transmitted effectively. She recognizes the importance of educating non-Aboriginal students, in addition to First Nations students, about Ts’msyen language and culture. Don Wells believes that it is important to begin

teaching children Ts'msyen songs and language at an early age, in order to develop their appreciation of the culture.

Finally, Mildred Roberts stresses the importance of locally developed school music resources that honour Ts'msyen territory by teaching Ts'msyen language and culture rather than that of any other First Nations: "It's important that they have the Ts'msyen story, and Ts'msyen songs and things in schools that they learn, so they know where they're at."

Node 2: Protocol for Including Ts'msyen Music in Schools

The discussion about protocol yielded a number of important points of procedure to be considered in developing and performing Ts'msyen material. Debbie Moore told me:

What I can see is what you and Mildred are going to be doing, and that's developing a song that's going to be used specifically in school, and that's from her own story. Because you can't just use a nation's, or a village's, or a person's song or history without their permission. You can't use Kalum's songs without their permission, and same with Kitselas. So I can see music and curriculum being developed from the story, the personal family story/history that she shared with you. I could see good things coming from that. And that way, you're protected, and so is she. Because that's her own; she's free to share that with you.

Lorna Johnson:

A lot of songs are owned, and that we cannot touch. If you do, you get in trouble...As far as games go, I think anybody's allowed to use that...Anything goes on, it stays within. Unless you make up a song and do a dance to it. You can do that. I've seen it done before...And that way, they can't say that they own it, and the First Nations community can't say that they own it.

Charlotte Guno:

In going with my thinking that the best way for people to get to know First Nations is through their music and their song—I would think that all stories that have a song could be shared with everyone and be appropriate to be in the school. If there's a song that goes for a certain territory—I guess before the song is developed, protocols would be followed. So then, the other protocol would be—you would ask the territorial—like Kitsumkalum—"Is it alright if these songs are taught to my students?" And I would hope the answer would

be yes. Because in going with my thinking, the only way people get to know who you are is through the songs and the music we have. A better understanding of who we are. A better appreciation of our culture through our songs and music.

And if it's...songs that belong to a certain group of people or a certain house, permission, of course, needs to be asked if it's appropriate: "Can we sing this song in our school?" And a lot of the times, because they feel the same way I do: the more people that know about our songs, the more people know about us. And I would think that their answer would be yes, as long as the protocol has been followed. You go to the matriarch, or the Sm'ooygit, and ask them if it's okay...You go in and say, "Well, there's a story that goes with that mountain. And it's a good story, and I could put music to it. Could we work together? And once I've done that, is it alright if we perform it for the schools?" That would be the protocol. And I feel that if all protocols are followed, and you don't hurt anybody, that most of the time the answers would be yes. Simple, you know. Yes.

And exploitation, to me, means that someone is trying to make money out of your culture. Now, if there is money to be made, that money should go back to the area [of] that language or the culture or whatever, and designated for a specific use. Like student taking music, or student taking a curriculum developer...you know, do something like that, useful.

Don Wells:

There are a lot of dances that people can use. And there are a lot that need permission. People are pretty strict with their stuff. Including my father. We were working on a song of his that I wanted to have a little bit of fun with, so we were going to do a different dance to it, and he says no. No, that's not why I wrote the song. So: Oh, okay. So we had to go back to what he originally intended the song for.

Things that are not a good idea are singing songs you don't have consent for. And there's the whole notion of songs being taught by non-Natives, right? I don't know how you might want to tackle that. Or in terms of writing a resource, suggestions could be for drum leaders to come out and help. To come out and do a song or two with a group and teach that one. And then providing that sort of connection in class, and teaching why people need to respect others' properties.

I know for us, when we sang songs written by somebody else, to pay that person respect, we're going to have to tell this is who the song belongs to, and they've given us permission to use it, right? As long as we point out this is who it belongs to. And that takes care of a lot of people's ideas in terms of coming out and "Can we use that song?" Well, it's still my song.

Melodie Johnson:

I would be careful not to let the lesson be changed into something else. Like, if it starts off as a Ts'msyen story, you let it be a Ts'msyen story. And if

the person is Nisga'a teaching it, you try not to let them change it. Because they have their stories from Nisga'a, we have ours, Gitksan has theirs. Like if you do creation stories, our creation stories are all different. It's not like we all came from one mountain. All of our nations came from different places. So we need to keep the lessons pure. If it's Ts'msyen, keep it Ts'msyen.

Obviously, you wouldn't teach a song that someone owns, in school... You'd have to get permission, written permission, from that person. Because what I found as a dance teacher is—okay, I'm trying to teach you the Robin Song and this one neighbour is taking a break and he'll say—ah, I know the Bear Song, I used to live in Alaska and I can sing you the Bear Song. So you take a drum and you start singing the Bear Song. And I say, "That's really nice, Anne, but who does that belong to?" "I don't know; I was in a dance group in Alaska." Okay, number one, you did that in Alaska, so that is Alaska's bear song. You can't repeat it here because you are Ts'msyens. Yet, I've had Nisga'a's, Gitksans, all different people join the dance group, and every once in a while, they'd say, "I know a song," and they'd start singing a song. And I said, that's a really nice song, but it belongs to somebody; and you can't sing it here.

Mildred Roberts:

I think that Ts'msyen music and stories should be heard, because there are other nations; this is Ts'msyen territory. So it's important that they have the Ts'msyen story, and Ts'msyen songs and things in schools that they learn, so they know where they're at. Instead of other cultures coming in and pushing their songs, and their dances and culture on Ts'msyen territory. Because we can't do that. We can't go to another territory and push our Ts'msyen songs and dances and take over... So now, I'm stepping out and saying it. Kitsumkalum is Kitsumkalum. So we want our things here in Kitsumkalum. But be sure and stress: unless I've made up that song myself, with a Kitsumkalum story—then it's strictly—nobody can use it. But these little... eh hee eh, and all that... I think a lot of people use it, but I don't know where it really came from.

In the above interview segments, six protocols were mentioned by one or more of the participants as important considerations in designing and teaching Ts'msyen music resources: (1) using common property songs instead of owned songs; (2) having an elder or drum leader present during the teaching; (3) teaching Ts'msyen music rather than that of other First Nations; (4) collaborating with an elder or community member as part of the

resource development process; (5) returning any monetary profits to the community; and (6) acknowledging composers or owners of songs or stories at a performance.

The ownership of songs was an extremely important issue that all the participants emphasized. While all six agreed that children's songs and games could be used without special consent (some of this discussion was outside the interview format and not audio-recorded), Debbie, Charlotte, Don and Melodie stressed that owned songs cannot be used without permission. Debbie: "You can't just use a nation's, or a village's, or a person's song or history without their permission." Charlotte explains that the process of asking permission, when appropriate, begins with consulting a house (Waap) leader: "You go to the matriarch, or the sm'ooygit, and ask them if it's okay." Don: "...There are a lot of dances that people can use. And there are a lot that need permission... Things that are not a good idea are singing songs you don't have consent for." Melodie suggests seeking written as well as oral permission: You'd have to get permission, written permission, from that person."

Both Lorna and Mildred told me that songs owned by communities should not be used at all. Lorna warns that social consequences ensue when one performs owned songs: "A lot of songs are owned, and that we cannot touch. If you do, you get in trouble." Mildred emphasizes the importance of respecting community ownership of songs and stories, and explains that a story owned by a community can only be used if it is written by an individual from that community who grants permission for its use: "Be sure and stress: unless I've made up that song myself, with a Kitsumkalum story—then it's strictly—nobody can use it."

Related to this idea is the point made by Don Wells that a First Nations person should be consulted and present in the classroom when First Nations material is taught: "There's the whole notion of songs being taught by non-Natives... I don't know how you might want to

tackle that.” He recommends having a drum leader come to the classroom to provide cultural connection and explain ownership issues.

On the subject of community ownership, both Mildred and Melodie feel strongly that stories from the various First Nations should be distinct and not mixed with others. Mildred stresses that on Ts’msyen territory, Ts’msyen songs should be taught, just as it would be improper for the Ts’msyen to go to other territories such as the Nisga’a and teach Ts’msyen songs. Melodie points out that a Ts’msyen story needs to stay in its original form, as the closely related Ts’msyen, Nisga’a, and Gitksan all have distinct stories, such as their creation stories: “If the person is Nisga’a teaching it, you try not to let them change it...If it’s Ts’msyen, keep it Ts’msyen.”

Debbie, Lorna and Charlotte recommend using resources in school that have been composed by, or in collaboration with, an elder or community member. Charlotte suggests approaching an elder and proposing working together on a specific story. Debbie and Lorna note that this is a way to present Ts’msyen material while avoiding ownership issues and necessary permissions. Debbie: “That way, you’re protected, and so is she.” Lorna: “That way, they can’t say that they own it, and the First Nations community can’t say that they own it.” Charlotte points out that any monetary profits resulting from such a project should be given back to the community, to be used for an appropriate purpose such as a music scholarship for children.

Finally, Don notes that an important part of Ts’msyen protocol is public acknowledgment of the composer of a song or story, or an owner of a song or story who has given permission for it to be performed.

Node 3: Ideas for Developing a Ts'msyen Music Resource

Don, Melodie, Charlotte, and Mildred all offered ideas and suggestions for developing classroom resources. Melodie suggests integrating songs and dances into a unit plan:

When I worked in Head Start, what I used to do is make a song and dance, or a game out of it. So by the end of that unit, when we were finished with all the animals, we would have either a dance about it, or a song, or a game.

I used to work at Clarence Michiel and E.T. Kenney, with Vivian Cameron...Everything we did led up to some kind of lesson. Like if you're working on a unit and you need a picture, and then a song, and something else that went along with it.

Mildred:

...They're finding that the beat of the drum—it brings them back to their mother, and start all over again.

You could even do a song like that, too. If you come up with a story and then just do a little song; that's what they do.

Anne: You were just saying that any of these things that happen, any of these things that you've done, any of these activities, you can make them into a song and story.

Mildred: Mm-hm. If you ask me a story, tell me a story—what story? I wouldn't know any story. I can't remember any story. But once I get started, then while I'm talking about one thing, I'll remember something...My husband always says, "I don't like listening when my sister tells stories." She'll be going along, and all of a sudden, she's got to go to the root of the story.

Charlotte:

You just need to sit down with the historian that knows the story, and put music to the story. And I know of people who are doing that right now. I know my husband and Jose [Coosemans] are working on this. So it can be done. And I've discussed it with my husband, and he'd be willing to work with Mildred or Melodie in helping them bring music to our stories. There are stories in the local area here that my husband knows, and he feels that you can put songs to them. But it needs to be done according to protocol.

I think that we're getting to the age now where things happen to us, and so you can formulate it into a story and then music. And we'll know it, and we'll own it. So that's a good way of keeping our stories alive...

There's a story that goes with this mountain—well, this heap of sand here you see. That's in our territory. And there's a story that goes with it, and my husband knows the story. Because there was a high chief that has the name that goes with that...He's not alive now, but he did tell the story to my husband, so my husband has the story.

Don Wells:

Well, there are a lot of elements or variables. There's drum-making, of course. And there are people that are good at that. So I would see something like that becoming a total course, like an A and B type. The first part of the year or the first quarter of the year is making the drum and that sort of stuff. And there's not just drums, right? There's also the box drums...which is something that the carpentry program [could do]. It's a tough piece to put together. The only reason I know it is because I worked alongside a cabinet maker to make our box drums, and there were constant repairs to the drum, to keep it sound.

If I were in a school teaching this stuff, I would certainly use a lot of visuals, in terms of bringing the children through what the songs and dances are all about. As well as possible field trips to a feast, where there's a lot of drumming and dancing. Going to those type of events speak more volumes than visuals would, and they tend to get people totally wound up on the whole notion of joining a drum group, and doing the dancing and singing and drumming...And kids are usually—as soon as they have their first song under their belt, and they've got a drum, and they're singing and drumming, you can just see the pride in their face.

Or in terms of writing a resource, suggestions could be for drum leaders to come out and help. To come out and do a song or two with a group and teach that one. And then providing that sort of connection in class, and teaching why people need to respect others' properties.

Five main ideas are represented in the comments above: (1) songs as integrated elements of a larger teaching unit; (2) songs embedded in stories; (3) the teaching of drum-making; (4) the use of visuals and field trips; and (5) the presence of a First Nations drum leader. Melodie recommends integrating music with other subject areas by writing songs that are thematically linked to stories or teaching units, as she did when working at the First Nations Education Centre and at Kitsumkalum Head Start. A theme unit on bears, for example, would yield a song, story, dance, and game about bears.

Mildred and Charlotte advocate using stories as the starting point for songs that could then be developed into teaching resources. Charlotte notes that there are many Kitsumkalum stories that could be recorded and dramatized with permission from the appropriate matriarch or Sm'ooygit. Mildred feels that any story can be used successfully in this way—"If you ask me a story, tell me a story—what story? I wouldn't know any story...But once I get started... I'll remember something." Mildred also suggests employing the traditional drum technique she describes on page 41, whereby one drummer beats the drum gently, approximating the sound of a heartbeat.

Don Wells suggests teaching drum making, with "A" and "B" components, as a high school or college level course. The making of a traditional box drum requires sophisticated carpentry skills and would be a more advanced course. For elementary age students, he recommends the use of visuals to prepare students before teaching First Nations material, so that students can learn "what the songs and dances are about." Ideas for visuals could include photographs of dancers and traditional instruments; videos of dance performances; or showing actual instruments or regalia. Field trips to feasts or dance performances are an even better teaching tool. Such experiences "speak more volumes than visuals would;" the energetic interplay between performers and audience create even greater enthusiasm for drumming and dancing. Finally, as mentioned in the previous section, Don recommends having a drum leader assist with the teaching, to provide "that sort of connection in class, and [teach] why people need to respect others' properties."

Node 4: Songs

Several of the participants described or sang songs that were either common property songs or were owned. On the topic of common property songs, Charlotte Guno mentioned

Nabiibu Dan, or Uncle Dan. This is a Sm'algyax variation on the folk song Old Dan Tucker, sung to a slightly different tune. Don Wells spoke about the Blanket song, also called Hanina (see p. 38). The Blanket Song is an invitation to each of the four crests—Gisbutwada, Laxgibuu, Ganhada, and Laxsgiik—to come out onto the dance floor:

All our Ts'msyen and Nisga'a used it...The Blanket Dance is when they put the blanket in the middle of the floor, and do the fundraising that way. And people bring their gifts forward. The thing I notice about Gitksan and Nisga'a is that people use it, too, even when they're doing any significant events like funerals or marriages. People come forward and give their gifts, but in a really happy occasion people have fun with that sort of stuff.

...You take someone's blanket and put it on the floor, and that's what they use. And I've noticed that everybody uses that song...We use it once in awhile, if we've been invited to a big event and we typically have to move about thirty people—thirty or forty people. And we announce—especially if there's no payment—we ask, can we do the blanket dance so we can pay for gas and stuff? And they'll typically allow us to do it...And a lot of other times, we would use the song to fundraise and give to a cause. That works, too. It always works out well when you're giving to people.

Another common song Don describes is "Liimin 'Wii Sgusiit," or "Sing, Big Potato" (see p. 188). Both Mildred and Melodie sang this song for me as well. Don's view of Liimin 'Wii Sgusiit is that it may have had its origins in the making of potato wine, vodka or moonshine. However, it could also be viewed as a humorous nonsense song.

In addition, Don identifies a genre of common song called derogatory songs, also discussed in the section entitled "Common Property Songs": "The Nisga'a sing one today, called 'White Man Walking Like a Raven,' or 'Like a Crow.' And they would just over-exaggerate how the walk would look, and it was humorous."

The participants agreed that children's songs and hand games are common property songs, and as such, could be used in a school setting without special permissions. When I asked Don about it, he replied, "I would think so. Especially if you can't list the composer." Lorna told me, "That way, they can't say that they own it...And the First Nations community

can't say that they own it." Later in the interview, she said, "As far as games go, I think anybody's allowed to use that." Mildred said, "But these little 'eh hee eh, ' and all that...I think a lot of people use it, but I don't know where it really came from."

One children's song that three participants either mentioned or recognized is Dzin Dzin (see p. 147). Mildred and Charlotte sang it together for me, and showed me the hand game. When I sang it to Lorna Johnson, she too recognized it. The Berry-Picking Song and Little Crow's Song were songs that both Mildred and Charlotte remembered hearing from their grandmothers. Mildred reports that Little Crow's Song is very old. The three latter songs are included in Appendix B.

Mildred referred to a song called the Kitsumkalum Poling Song. This is a very old song about poling a boat upriver:

That poling, it's just: "Oh-ho, Oh-ho, ho ho ho." (Chanting). Just acting out the poling. Just like what they do with that "wee, wee, a way"—that canoe. But it's poling. I started to put together a thing for my dancers, starting up the Kalum River to canoe up and pole. You have to pole up the Kalum river. Or an outboard motor now, but in the olden days it was poling. To get to what they call the Robin Town—Dalk Gyilakyaw. That's the place where the people went. The people living in the village were the hosts and they invited them in. You can't go into a village till you're invited in. Those people taught them how to put out fish snares, and how to do them, and how to do other things.

As a Kitsumkalum song, this song, although historically important and well known within the Kitsumkalum community, would not be appropriate to perform in schools.

One song that four of the participants mentioned, but which I have not heard, is a Sm'algyax version of "Who Killed Cock-Robin?" Mildred and Debbie referred to it as a common song that is a party song, and told me it would not be appropriate to sing or to write down. Lorna referred to an owned song called "Poor Little Robin." She explained that it

“belongs to Kitsumkalum, and you can’t touch that.” Melodie related a memorable experience she had with the Robin song:

Melodie: There was a song about “Poor Little Robin” that Kalum used to have. Me and Vera Henry went to Alaska, and for some reason, Vera said, okay, start drumming. So I was the drummer. I started drumming and everyone started laughing. I was like—I don’t know what’s going on, Auntie Vera, they’re laughing. No, she said, just continue. I don’t want to, I said, it’s awful. She said, no, just continue. We’ll fix it.

We were at a workshop in Alaska; it was actually how to choreograph, how to put a story into a dance and song...By the end, I think we sang that song for an hour. It’s just exhausting. But at the end of that hour, this one guy in the corner got up and he started shaking his paddle as we were singing [softly sings the song]...and he started moving to the music. He got halfway around, and people were looking at each other ‘cause I was watching the crowd, and I had tears in my eyes. I told Vera, I don’t know, I don’t think it’s going to work. She said, we’re gonna change it, we’re gonna fix this song. What had happened, was this song had such a snappy little tune, it had turned into a drinking song, or some people sang it when they were drunk.

Anne: And this was the Robin Song.

Melodie: Yeah, it was the Robin Song. And Vera said, no, we’re gonna change it. She said, we have to take back that history, and show them it’s an honourable song that we can sing. So by the end, probably an hour and a half...the whole place was up dancing, eh? And Vera said, see? We can do it.

And I said, yeah, but can we hold it? Which means, if we don’t keep singing it, is it gonna slide back to being what it was before? And she said, what we have to do is show that we’ve gone beyond that.

And I was trying to find out who took the song. Who changed it? And why didn’t somebody say, no, you don’t sing this at a drinking party...It’s like somebody swearing or saying something bad all the time. It takes, what, seven days to change a habit? So she said, just repeat it over and over, and the more you do it, the more people say, oh, that’s what that is. It turns back into what it was originally. I think that was one of the most powerful lessons I learned. ‘Cause just that hour trying to get it going was pretty scary. I had tears in my eyes. I told her, I don’t know, I don’t think we should sing it. And Vera said, no, we’re gonna sing it, we’re gonna finish it.

Anne: And it worked.

Melodie: It worked.

Melodie and Vera persisted in singing the Robin Song under difficult and humiliating circumstances because of its importance in their community's history; it had originally been a sacred Kitsumkalum song. Their experience in reclaiming the song illustrates the power of performing with honourable intent and pride.

Music in Context: A Broader View

Mildred, Melodie, Charlotte, Debbie, Lorna and Don taught me much about their culture by relating long and richly detailed narratives about their lives: their personal and family histories, elders who have supported and helped them, values they learned and are teaching their children and grandchildren, and ways in which they have healed. I honour their voices in this section by presenting longer portions of their narrative as they were presented to me, rather than extracting short thematic units, as I did in the preceding chapter. Below, I present selections of thematically linked narrative that cover a range of topics relevant to the participants' lives and culture.

Vera Henry: The Influence of Respected Elders

The role of family in the transmission of culture, including language and cultural performance, was one very important theme in all six interviews. Family in this context includes ancestors, elders, children, and extended family including grandparents, aunts and uncles. In particular, several of those I interviewed talked at length about the important role of elders in maintaining culture and passing it on to the next generation.

It is no accident that Mildred Roberts, Don Wells and Melodie Johnson all told me about the late Vera Henry, a well-known and highly respected matriarch, and her role in

transmitting culture. Melodie's story about Vera and the reclaimed Robin Song demonstrates

Vera's powerful role in the transmission of culture. Vera was Don's grandmother, and

Mildred's father's cousin. Don explained Vera's influence on his musical development:

Well, you know, [The Happy Song] is the first song I ever wrote. When I think about it, it was kind of pleasant, 'cause my girls were small. They were only four and two. And they were really into dancing and singing. So I would be singing a song and they'd be doing the dances around on the floor, which is what made the whole thing pleasant.

Anne: So you wrote this for them?

Don: No, actually, the first piece my Grandma [Vera] put up here in Kalum—I can't remember how many years ago, ten years ago, somewhere around thereabouts, twelve—we pulled together as a family to do some drumming and singing. But not a lot of us knew a lot of songs and a lot of stuff that we could do, and then use throughout the feast, 'cause we wanted to sing and perform. But we didn't know a lot. So Grandma taught us a few songs that we could use, and we practiced hard at those. Then we went through the feast, and people were receiving their names, and it [became] a celebratory event... And after a person's received their name, they're stood up in the public's eye, and all the public knows who they are after that day, right? And so I don't know if it's what we had started, or not—I don't think it was us who started it, I think it's always been there—we would just get on a nice beat, for them to dance around in the feast hall, to show who they are. Their crest dance and whatnot. And I was thinking through the whole night of that first piece... "Man, we don't have the song." For a good song that celebrates this person's moment. And so almost right after the feast, I was thinking about a song, and then I wasn't sure whether or not I could do this stuff. I had talked to my grandma [and] said, "You know, I could do songs, but I don't know if I can write them, 'cause I don't know Sm'algyax, our language." And she says, "You don't need Sm'algyax. You can use these words to put in your songs. And then if you want, you can always put the Sm'algyax in after." ...Okay. So I listened to a few groups and listened to the common words that people had used in their songs: Yo way, yo way, hi-ah, he-ah, hay-a-ho, and all that sort of stuff. It doesn't mean anything, at least I don't think so.

Anyway, I started creating this song, and one of my aunts that had given my first drum, so at home I would practice this song, go over it. [I] said Hey, I like this song. So I wrote it out and brought it to the dance group, because we were learning songs in the village that were old, but also kind of... what's the word—there was a common language [Chinook] that our people spoke.

Not a lot of Cree people or other people had a lot of words in their songs. They had a lot of that similar stuff. Which is cool. Anyway, my

Grandma told me that you can use that, you don't have to use Sm'algyax. 'Cause we didn't learn it. They never taught us Sm'algyax, right? And I brought the song to the group and taught them the song. And they said, "what is it for?" And I said, "It's basically for my Grandma's feast, because we didn't have a song that celebrated the moment when people were being stood up with their names. And to dance around with a good beat. And a good song gives them a good presence on the floor, especially if they knew how to dance well. So that was the whole intention of the song, was to celebrate the happiness. So hence the name, "The Happy Song." So that's what that song is all about.

Xbishuunt (in English, "Midsummer" or "Part Summer") was Vera's Ts'msyen name.

In an earlier (2006) conversation, Don had explained to me that the Xbishuunt dancers were named after her. He told me that this was "the ultimate way to honour my grandma" whom he described as "my greatest confidante." Vera and her husband Charlie accompanied the dancers on many events, giving official welcome speeches. Don explained that their presence "made us feel more powerful," and explained "if things go wrong, [elders] will help us through it" (personal communication).

One night exactly six months after Vera's death, Don sat alone in an empty hall, waiting for the dance group to arrive for a practice. A tune began running through his head, and he decided to write a song to give thanks for his time with his grandmother. He remembered the way she had said "thank you" in Sm'algyax, and how she had started her welcoming prayer: "It was like she was talking to me." He got up in the middle of the empty hall and started drumming to the words he was hearing. Soon he had written a new song. But he maintains, "I didn't write it by myself. She was there." He taught the song to the dance group that night. It is a slow, serene and moving song, often used when the dancers leave the floor. Don counts this as one of the most powerful events in his life; it made him feel "connected to the other side."

Mildred remembers Vera as both an important presence in her own life, and along with her husband Charlie Henry, a powerful figure in the communities where she lived:

Vera was my dad's cousin. And Vera, her parents are from Kitsumkalum, but she was raised by her uncle. [Her uncle] adopted her because there—I forgot how many baby girls that was born and they died. So when Vera was born, and Elsie had a bunch of girls, she gave her baby to her brother, because his wife was so ill from losing baby after baby. She's lost two or three baby girls, so his sister loved him that much, that she gave her up. Well, that's the way they used to go...She was given to her uncle. It was a love gift.

Port Essington and Carlisle, that's where they lived. And we saw them every summer at the Fourth of July celebration in Port Essington. So we grew up knowing Vera. And then they lived after their mother died—the younger children were sent to residential school. The youngest one, my grandmother took in. That was a baby a year old when the mother died. And then Vera, Larry, two of them stayed with their father. And they will stay with us where we were camped. Whichever camp we go to, they'd be there.

So I grew up with Vera. And then they lived in Carlisle. But they were all ...close enough, that they're always up to Port Essington. And they'll come to our place, or to my grandmother's, that was so close. And then, eventually, her dad would move up to Port Essington to live there in the wintertime. And Vera got married and left. And her brother went to stay with her, or with his dad. And they always camped with us.

She married [into] Port Simpson. She was sixteen, she said, when she got married. And then she lived up there and grew up in Port Simpson. She moved here just recently...And then, because her parents were from Kitsumkalum, her real parents, so she moved back here.

She did a lot for Port Simpson. She was really handy there. They had that band, her husband had that band going, and that was mostly their own family, their own children and some in-laws, even some girls were in the band. They used to always play in Rupert. They had a good band. Charlie was a real strict instructor. He had several sons, his son-in-laws, his nephews—just all his family. And then girls grew up, and they started up the majorettes, and marched with the band. That's all the family. Last time I heard them play was at Charlie's funeral. Their own choir was Charlie's children and grandchildren.

They did a lot. I know Vera did a lot, between her and Charlie. Vera was really handy there. Whenever anything happens—when my husband's aunt died, Lucy, in Port Simpson, she lived out there. And we went out by boat. Before we even got there, Vera already arranged where we were going to be billeted. There was a boat from the Nass, the relatives up the Nass. They already knew where they were gonna go. And by the time the boats landed, there were vehicles there waiting for us, to pick us up, all the visitors, and took us right to the church. And the ladies had a meal all ready.

And she used all her in-laws, her children...And then Vera really went out and did a lot of work. She was right there, walking back and forth. She just really took part in everything. And then when she quit, I don't know what happened. She left, then her children starting drifting off. Just a few right here. Then she had her own children and grandchildren all together to start the dance.

Vera Henry was revered by the community as a social and cultural leader. In Melodie's story about reclaiming the Robin song, it is Vera's presence and strength that gives Melodie the courage to continue singing to a disrespectful crowd and ultimately to earn respect for their song. Don relates Vera's crucial role in encouraging him to develop as a musician, composer and dance leader. Her encouragement helped him to compose his first song, which was written for her feast. Her spirit was the guiding force in helping him write another song, and her presence in the Xbishuunt Dancers provided the group with support, continuity, and power. Mildred remembers growing up with Vera, and Vera's substantial contributions to the community of Port Simpson (Lax Kw'alaams) and later, to Kitsumkalum. She recalls Vera and Charlie's leadership of a marching band and choir, and Vera's key role in the formation of the Xbishuunt Dancers. She also shares her memories of Vera's organizational leadership in community functions—for example, taking it upon herself to organize all the billets and meals for out-of-town families attending a large funeral in Port Simpson.

It is significant that Melodie, Mildred and Don all mentioned Vera Henry in their conversations about Ts'msyen music. McDonald (2003) writes about Vera in *People of the Robin*, reporting that she was a Laxgibuu (Wolf crest, or pteex) matriarch under whose leadership the "Laxgibuu of Kitsukalum have rejuvenated themselves" (p. 95). Vera provided—and as her memory lives on, continues to provide—a critically important connection to community values and culture.

The Role of Extended Family

That connection, and the support of elders like Vera, is vital if Ts'msyen culture is to survive. Debbie Moore remembers her father reconnecting with his culture after losing his language in residential school, and losing his status as a result of enfranchising:

Now, life was different then, growing up, for my father. And his mum died when he was 3, so he ended up, his father enfranchised so he could work in town, and live amongst non-Aboriginals. And when that happened, everybody—my father and all his siblings, they were still at home at the time they were enfranchised and literally kicked off the reserve, because once you were non-status, you could not live on the reserve. So they had to move into town, and then their life changed from living in their reserve community to living in a foreign community, where they had to struggle, strive to maintain an income, and it changed their life altogether. Because what was important in their community, in their village life, was preparing food, working with each other, for each other, and helping one another. And when they moved into town, it was different. They had to struggle to keep a job and keep a roof over their head. The language was something that—the loss of his language was something that hurt my father very deeply. And not knowing the culture.

One of the things my father—one of the regrets my father always had is that when he was enfranchised, he was not only kicked off the reserve, but he also...lost his language, he lost his culture. And that was something that he desperately tried to get back throughout his life, later in life. And it was something, I'm proud to say, that he accomplished, with the support of his "Wagy"—he always called Uncle Willard "Wagy." And if my dad stood up in public and spoke in our language, he would look at his Wagy, who in turn would give him the nod of approval—"Yes, that's right." In our culture, it's really good to have support like that. And for someone like my father who's coming back and who doesn't remember the language or the culture, it was really good to have Uncle Willard to support him through his learning.

For Debbie's father, the presence and approval of his uncle was an extremely important factor in helping him to regain his culture. As Vera Henry had for others, Uncle Willard provided the continuity and encouragement that helped Debbie's father stand up in public and speak his language.

Later in the interview, Debbie talked to me more about the role of family:

I mentioned to you that that was one of the primary roles of my mom's brothers, was to help with us. And your father's side, they're the people who take care of you, who are there for you throughout your lifetime. With my father, they were so far removed from the culture, that part of it, that it didn't occur. The only aunt that I had here was adopted into a different clan. That's Aunt Phyllis—she's Killer Whale. And the other aunts all passed away. And my Aunt Rosie lives in Hazelton—she's Killer Whale. My dad was Wolf. They were close to my mom when we were younger, but the connection wasn't as close as with my uncles.

The importance of extended family for the Ts'msyen cannot be overemphasized; it came up in the narratives again and again. Mildred spoke in detail about her early years in Port Essington, and what stands out in her narrative is the closeness and interdependence of her extended family:

There's so much that happened when we were young. There were good things; there were bad things. There were some things that I made bad myself (chuckles). But you can change, eh? A person can change, instead of just going on being bad. They can change—they can take one mistake, and sort of change. Then, work with the family to see that they don't make that same mistake—because you've been there.

We were poor, but we didn't know we were poor. We had our parents, we had our grandparents. We had uncles and aunts, but those were mostly on my dad's side. Our grandparents on my mother's side came and lived with us. But the most important ones were my dad's family, because we grew up with them and we learned their way. My mother was 15 when she got married; that was an arranged marriage. She was raised by my grandmother. She was trained, but I call it "raised" (chuckles). My grandmother said whatever she did, my mother went with her. And my dad was trained by his father. He always worked with his father. We lived with them for awhile, in the same house. And there was always aunts and uncles that we loved. They won't let us get away with things, but they were nice to us. They taught us little songs, and tell us stories.

My uncle taught me how to spell my name. I was five when he died. But he taught me how to spell my name before that, and the way that he taught me was: "Spell 'mild' M-I-L-D, and then spell 'red' R-E-D. And then put it together, and then it says 'Mildred.'" And he taught me how to tie my shoelace. My grandson's 11—nobody's taught him how to tie his shoe.

We had our aunts and uncles, and they never let us get away with things. I remember a time when my brother found Mom's coupons, the cannery coupons. There were five cents, ten cents, twenty-five cents, and one dollar. He was counting how many there were. We decided to each take one. He gave me one and he kept one. I guess he changed his mind after, and put

the one he took back. But I ran off to go to the store, and invited my friends—I had five cents! We were waiting for the store to open, and my aunt came along with her friends—that was Auntie Josie. And she asked me what I'm doing there, and I showed her my five cents—I'm going to buy some gum. She said the store will never open again tonight, not till tomorrow, so she said "Go home." So I went home. But I didn't put the five-cent back. I kept it. I was going to spend it the next day. I guess I was about 7—old enough to know better. She came over later on—she lived next door. The Chinese people, I don't know if you've ever seen, but they roll newspaper in a cone...and they fill it up with peanuts and close it, and it looks like a cone. It's five cents each. And they walk around with a big can: "Peanut! Peanut! Fresh roasted peanut!" People would run out and buy it if they had 5 cents. My mother ran for her coupon, and she knew just how much was on there. She said, "Somebody's been fooling with my coupon. There's a five-cent piece missing. There's one in there that's been taken off, but there's one missing." Aunt Josie says, "It's Mildred! She had a 5-cent coupon." I had to give back that 5-cent I had, but she bought peanuts for all of them, but not for me. That's my punishment. And I was mad at my brother. It was his idea, so he had to share with me. He wasn't supposed to, but he snuck it. So, we couldn't get away with anything. The family—any wrongdoing, they let my parents know.

My dad started building this big house, but it was never finished—just the kitchen part. The kitchen part wasn't finished either, but we moved in, because it was too crowded living with my grandparents. He started building this house, but he's always away at logging camps, or he'd work for somebody's logging camp or he'd be at the trap line, [so] we didn't really need that house except in the summer time. Sometimes we didn't even need that house in the summer, because we'd move to the cannery. It's more like a storage place. In the kitchen part, there was just enough room at one end to have a double bed, and at the foot of it enough for a single bed. So my parents slept on one bed, and my sister and I on one. And my brothers would roll out a mattress on the floor. And then there's a hammock swing for the baby. There were eight of us living in that kitchen part.

Later on, in 1946, before Laura was born, we moved in the bigger house. My dad bought my mom's uncle's big house. That wasn't really finished either. There's a big upstairs part, but that wasn't finished. And there's a back room, supposed to be the kitchen, that wasn't finished. They turned the dining room into a kitchen—it was a big one. And one bedroom downstairs. And a great big hallway, which they call a foyer, I guess. And then a living room, and the upstairs. There's one room there, but it wasn't finished. The kids all slept there. I was 13 or 14 when I moved in there. And then I was 20 when I got married. So in that house, we had the kitchen, with a great big table. We never had running water. We'd pack water and fill the reservoir on the stove.

Anne: And this was in Port Essington?

Mildred: Mm-hm. We all slept in there. My family weren't drinking people—my dad's family weren't drinking. My grandmother was really strong. But we never, ever saw a big drunken party, or big fights. We were very sheltered when we were growing up. We grew up with a big extended family—not just our parents. Then, some nights they'd have visitors. My mother's parents would come, and then her sister and her husband, and my dad's sister and her husband. Six adults—they would all come to visit. And they'll sit up till about midnight, talking and laughing and eating. And then we have to go to bed, because we have to go to school. But we couldn't go to sleep because of the visitors. And then in the morning, I'm lazy to get up (laughs). My sister and my brother, they would pull me out of bed, and try and dress me.

At one time, while the visitors were there, on the kitchen side of the house, we thought we'd run away. We took our coats and we threw them out the window on the front side of the house. Then we walk through with a big wad of toilet paper—we're going to the outhouse. And we left the house with no coats on. We got outside and ran to grab our coats, and ran down the road, and my auntie's standing there. "Where do you kids think you're going?" "We're going to the toilet." "Well, you passed it, it's back there!" So we had to go to the toilet. When we came out from the toilet, we were going to run, and we thought she was gone. But she was standing there, waiting.

Anne: Where were you planning on going?

Mildred: Going tobogganing with the other kids. There was a nice big wide boardwalk, and there's this sort of a hill. There was a big bobsled—that's what the kids always use. And toboggans. So that's where we were going to run to, but we weren't allowed out at night.

Then she waited for us after we came from the outhouse, and marched us back in the house. Walked in. She said, "I caught these girls running away; they threw their coats out the window [laughing]. So we couldn't get away with much.

Mildred grew up under the watchful eye of her large extended family—grandparents, aunts and uncles. They taught her the skills and values she would need in life, including honesty and obedience. They passed on songs and stories, and helped her through difficult situations with their wisdom, advice and humour. Although materially poor, her family was rich in loving relationships and mutual support.

Charlotte Guno was present during part of Mildred's interview, and the two women continued the discussion about the importance of elders, extended family and community in their lives:

Mildred: When you have a large family, you have to be trained by the whole family. Like, it isn't just me, and my mum, and my dad. We belong to the grandparents and the uncles and the aunts. They all have a hand in training us. Like I told you about when I stole, and my aunt didn't hide it. She told, and then I had to go without peanuts [laughs].

And then there's the community. You can go down and practice that with the community. Like now, we need this kind of thing with the community, get the community together. And go to the parents, and start working with them too.

Charlotte: Exactly. And it is right what Mildred says, that we need that now. You know what I feel? I think we're short of elders—eh, Mildred?—in this community, because we're a young community. And there isn't very many grandmas or aunts, or...elders...that we can go and sit and chat with. Like, I miss my grandmother.

Mildred: See, I feel like the way Tina felt with me, and then J.R. feels—Tina's his sister [Tina and J.R. are two of Mildred's grandchildren]. Well, that's the way I felt with Charlotte. I was close to her parents, and I worked with them a lot, I babysat, I helped with the kids, and I felt like they were my sisters. The only thing I didn't do was breastfeed them [laughter]. The feeling I had was, we weren't cousins, they were my sisters. That's how we grew up, being close to our families. When we lived out at camp, there was always my grandmother with us, and her [Charlotte's] parents—before they had their children, they lived with us. Their mother spoke English—she spoke both languages. She spent a lot of time with us, too. We were able to lie down beside her, and she will go into little things, her way of teaching us.

Charlotte: And I'll say that again, that's what's missing now. Every day, there's a lesson. And every time we're doing something, it's teaching. Right now, our younger generation just couldn't be bothered with that. They don't have the patience or the time to even just sit and listen to us when we're talking. And when we start talking, well, they're going to get up and leave without even saying "excuse me"—they're just going to go, you know? It's *really* hard to get to them.

Mildred: People sort of drift; like, when Charlotte moved here, she didn't really know anybody. So I took her on, and I started taking her to attend this and that—you have to learn to be an Indian! [laughs]. And her dad was happy that Charlotte was learning to attend things with elders. Her aunt was with the

elders' group at the Kermode Centre. I phoned Charlotte to come and bring somebody else along... So Charlotte would come with her son. One day she got really sick, and her son knew to phone me to come and pick him up. Charlotte didn't have time to call anybody, but her son knew who to call. So we went and picked him up and kept him with us till Charlotte was out of the hospital. I was teaching him Sm'algyax. He was always trying to use the words his grandmother from the Nass taught him (laughs).

Charlotte: [Mildred] was my connection to the community, because when I was living on the outside, I always stopped by to visit her, and her kids still remember that. Richard and Jamie still remember my visits, when I used to come there to do things with them.

Mildred: So we helped one another. She helped me; I helped her. I'd introduce her to her relatives, her mother's family...

Charlotte: My mother's mother is from Kitselas, so maternally, we belong there. If we stand up our house again, which has been empty for a long time, then my brother and I will take on Sm'oogyit and matriarch names.

Mildred describes a child-raising system that includes the extended family and the community: "It isn't just me, and my mum, and my dad. We belong to the grandparents and the uncles and the aunts...and then there's the community." It was her aunts and grandparents who taught her important values, songs and stories. In turn, Charlotte recalls Mildred's important role as part of her extended family, providing a connection to the larger community, when she moved to Kitsumkalum as a young woman. She remembers the important role that the elders played in her own upbringing: "Every day, there's a new lesson."

Disconnection of Young People From Culture

Charlotte expresses concern that there are currently too few elders in the community, and that, consequently, young people in the community are disconnected from their culture: "It's *really* hard to get to them." Debbie Moore repeats these sentiments as she voices her

thoughts about the importance of extended family in child raising, the shortage of elders, and her fears about the dangers facing young people in her community:

I've told my family that if you see my children stepping out of line or doing something you know they shouldn't be doing, then it's your duty to talk to them. You have our permission to do that, to set them straight. It's just part of who we are. I mentioned to you that that was one of the primary roles of my mom's brothers, was to help with us. And your father's side, they're the people who take care of you, who are there for you throughout your lifetime.

I miss everybody... 'Cause I think I'm too young to be one of the oldest in my family right now. We have our Ye'e [grandfather] Murphy, but we didn't grow up with him. My mum did, 'cause he was closer to her age... But everybody, all the adults that were in my life while I was growing up, are all gone. My Uncle Herbie was the first, in 1980, and then 2000 my Uncle Marvin. 2002 was my dad; in 2004 my Auntie Winnie who was my Uncle Marvin's wife, and then my Aunt Olive who was like a sister to my mom. Her name was Olive Lockerby; she was married to Sam Lockerby. Her and mum were first cousins, and then... Olive died in April 2005; mum died in August. And it's hard. I get really lonesome for all of them. And I think: I'm too young for all of them to be gone... And I just get overwhelmed with loneliness for them.

I'm afraid of what's occurring these days with all the drugs and alcohol. In my day, growing up, all we had to contend with was alcohol. Today there's crystal meth and cocaine. The most unlikely people are being addicted. It's kids, children, that are getting addicted at a young age... [Drugs are] one of my primary concerns and fears. That, and suicide.

Echoing Mildred's belief that raising children is the job of the entire extended family, Debbie explains that one's maternal uncles help with child raising, and the father's family is "there for you throughout your lifetime." She expresses loneliness for the elders who have passed on, and fear for the younger generation and the dangers they face.

Lorna Johnson, too, is concerned for the younger generation. She observes a lack of respect in young people for their elders and an unwillingness to work, in sharp contrast to what was expected of her as a child. She relates a conversation she had with her grandchildren on this topic:

And you, I said, a lot of times I wish I was back in the old times, where you have more fun. Now you just sit in front of the TV, and you won't move no matter if you're cold. In those times, as soon as they call you, you jump up before they finish. And do what you have to do. It's not fun anymore. In our time it was fun—work was fun. We just enjoyed ourselves.

Like Charlotte, both Lorna and Debbie expressed concern at the disconnection of young people from traditional values and culture taught by the elders.

Values and Lessons

One of the important values that the elders taught was resourcefulness. Lorna, Mildred and Debbie all remember proudly how their elders bought as few items as possible, making and building as many things as possible, relying on their ingenuity and the materials that were available. Lorna recalls:

We had our own little knives that our dad used to make for us. Anything we had those days—my dad used to make us backpacks, used to make those ha'lits'als [structure upon which fish were filleted] I'm talking about. And he was going to build us a little smokehouse, and then my grandmother said, "no, it's a waste of time, they've got to learn to work within the big smokehouse." But my dad was so anxious to try and build us one...

Our dad built a ladder for us to climb. And he said, "it's not to play with, this is for work." Said you only use the ladder when you're doing your fish. You don't use it for anything else. And when he builds anything, they're pretty sturdy, and he won't rush to do anything. He built my mum's smokehouse, I think it was about four or five years ago when that smokehouse finally fell down...Must have been standing for about 65 years. But we made use of it almost every summer.

In our time it was fun—work was fun. We just enjoyed ourselves. And it's more or less an exercise for us, because we're moving all the time. And we didn't have no cars them days—just canoes and boats.

Anne: Did you ever have to buy things like flour, or sugar?

Lorna: Oh yeah, we walked the tracks. My dad made us backpacks, and we used to walk the tracks on, I think it was on a Friday or a Saturday. Backpacks my dad made were to our size. And as we got older, he made us the bigger ones, and passed the smaller ones over the smaller. Same thing with

the wheelbarrows. He'd make it to our size, and just kept making them, and passed the smaller ones down. We never, ever had to buy. Even toys—he made toys for us. I had a wooden doll; my brothers had wooden cars. He'd just use his imagination...Boats—I still have one of the canoes he made—little canoe he made, and I always have it out in my window. And my brothers, they still have the seine boats that my dad made. Little wooden seine boats, that's what they got for Christmas. And they really treasured it...And then, he used to teach us how to mend nets. How to put the net together. And he made his own homemade net. Didn't get it from the coast. He had to use a lot of webbing.

Anne: And did he make his own nets because he felt they would last longer than the ones he could buy?

Lorna: Oh no, it's just that he couldn't afford to get one. And he made it to his length, he doesn't overdo it. And it did last longer. And then he taught my mum and I how to hang the net, how to mend the net. I'd forgotten how to mend it, 'cause when my daughter was old enough and my niece, he taught them how to...mend nets. And then I just stuck to the smokehouse. And they have these dehydrators. We tried to make dried fish, and it doesn't taste the same (laughs).

Debbie, too, describes the resourcefulness of her elders and ancestors:

Our people were human depth sounders. They built their own boats. You know, they did all these things before all this fancy equipment came into play. They were able to read the waters. We had people who were born to be artists, and when people seen that gift in them, they would keep building on it, training them. And people who were in dance groups, you know, they're just born for a position. Not everybody can do the Wolf dance. Not everybody can do the Eagle, Frog, or Killer Whale. So you come from that clan, if it's from a certain clan, then that's kind of who will do the lead positions in there.

Hard work and striving to do your best were also important values the participants learned from elders and extended family. Lorna Johnson describes learning these lessons from her parents, grandmother and aunt:

Well, work is play to us. 'Cause that's the way my grandmother, my dad, and my mum taught us. "Well, you'd better go get water, there's no more water." So we don't argue, we just grab the pails and we just play along—see who's gonna get the most water. Same thing with wood. We used to pull sleighs, and see who's gonna get the biggest load. And the reason for that was, when we go up on the hill, we ride down on the sleighs with the wood. It's easier for us to get wood in winter time than it is in the summer time, 'cause summer

time, you use wheelbarrows. In the winter time we'd go sliding on the wood. And same thing with the water. In winter time, we play on the ice for awhile, then we'd pack water. So we used to have a lot of fun. Same thing with when we were filleting fish. We don't rush. My grandmother used to get after us: "You don't rush, you can ruin your fish. You don't rush to try and do it. Do your work properly—then people will know that you've been taught right."

But little did I know that my auntie was going to test me. That's when we first moved down Queensway. And my aunt was living next door to me. She seen my smokehouse going, so she came over. She said, "What are you doing, Lorna?" Sounds like she's talking rough, but it's just the way she was brought up. She said, "I'm going to test your fish now, see how it is, see if you did a good job." So she took one of my dried fish. She took it home. I was sitting there: "I wonder if I did it right?" And then she waited for a few days, and then all of a sudden she come walking into the house. "Well, Lorna, you were brought up right. Your mum did a good job; your granny did a good job. I like your dried fish, and I like your strips." She brought me a big pail of potatoes: "Here, now you can eat your dried fish with potatoes" And anything I did, she always came over to test to see if I'm doing it right. And she was an inspiration to me, because she's one that was really fussy about the food that she'll make. She's really particular.

It was her aunt's role to make sure that Lorna maintained high standards in all her endeavors.

Another value learned from elders was caring for others in the community. Lorna talked about the importance of compassion and respect:

[My husband] really taught the kids a lot. He taught the kids to respect the elders, respect anybody, no matter what nationality they are. Always have respect for one another. Not only the elders, but everyone around you. Always respect them. And if you see anybody that doesn't have anything to eat, take it from your deep freeze, take it from your fridge, give it to them. Do you see, that's why your mum and I's deep freeze is never empty. Because God provides for us. When He sees our deep freeze is going low, there's a knock on the door. We have a picture of Captain David Moulton [of the Salvation Army] [who] had brought a moose to us just when we were almost out of everything. And then all my husband did, he just looked up: "Thank you, Lord." 'Cause we were almost out of food, and then somebody comes with something. One time, we were almost right out of fish. There's a knock on the door. Somebody had too much fish so they gave us some canned fish and some fresh. So that's why Christmas time, my husband and I used to make a little box of goodies, of Indian food, to pass out to those that were on the streets. We used to have a car then and then we'd cook up some rice, then have fish or smoked fish or whatever, and we'd hand it out to them. I'd make toques and gloves, socks, and tell them, "Merry Christmas. Enjoy yourself." Then we'd cook up one turkey and make a turkey dinner for them.

Anne: And you took it out there and served it?

Lorna: Yes. And that's the way we were taught. I mean, when you see somebody down and out, you've got to be there to help them, even if it's your last—I know my grandmother said, "Even if it's your last dollar, give it to them. You get more in return." And our nephew, he's on the streets now, and we're trying to help him. He's slowed down a lot. And I told him, "You're gonna be there one day. You're gonna quit. I said, quit putting yourself down. There's a better person in you. You used to carve. You used to make drums." I said, "Why throw that away?"

Mildred, like Lorna, demonstrates her caring for the community in many ways. She spent a number of years working with a community youth group she founded:

I did a lot in the village. Anything that was going. I did have the Junior Firefighters. That went real strong. After that, then other places started having [it]. They liked what they saw. And then, they grew up, graduated, and left, and the younger ones didn't want to stay on. It was a team. And Ernie said even when he had them working for him at the Tempo [gas station], they still worked as a team. And then after that, we tried to start with the next group, but that didn't go. And then, I went in to work with the RCMP—what's her name, Nielson, that lady cop—and she come down, and we'll go down in the basement at the House of Sim-oi-ghet with little kids. We called it Junior Citizens On Patrol. So it was training them how to recognize a vehicle and describe it, and try and remember the license number, and what not to do. So it was really good. And then, when she was leaving, she was telling Jim Cooley—he was a constable then—not to let that go. Just keep on. But he didn't really go for the Citizens on Patrol with little kids. He wanted the teens. So he had the Cadets. He enjoyed basketball, so he had basketball. We had a lot of teens that were really interested in basketball. We had some real good players. He started the Cadets. We had two hours. The first hour is the Cadets—they do the drills and everything. And then after that, the second hour is basketball...

Then we start the baseball. We had the year-end Youth Roundup once a year. I thought if they had A & D—Drug and Alcohol—Roundup [laughs]—they could have an end-of-year Youth Roundup. So we pick a date, and we start off with a pancake breakfast at the fire hall—the Junior Firefighters and the regular firefighters. They cook, and we go in and help them—the grandmothers and the mothers. And then right after breakfast, we had the Fitness and Self-Defense Jiu-jitsu. There was a couple that were teaching that. They put on their show there. And then there's Joan, she did a group. They do crafts and things. And if we're going to have a workshop, instead of buying posters, she'll have the youth group make them—and people read them. If it's about drug and alcohol, they'll do things with drug and alcohol.

If it's AIDS awareness, she has them do the same things. If it's fire safety or boat safety, she'll have them do that. It was getting so that someone uptown was starting to ask us to do something for a workshop. Then they put up what the kids did, and they'll do their little skit. We have a pancake breakfast, bacon and eggs, from 8:00 to 10:00. And then they put on their show. We skip lunch—they can run home and have snacks if they want. [At] 1:00, they have the Junior Firefighters and regular firefighters competition. One time we had the Canyon City Firefighters.

And then we have a break, then we have dinner, a smorgasbord. I clean out all the fish from my freezer. Laurie and Verna help me slice them up. Melodie and Richard came and took them, and cooked them up. We'd make potato salad and we just call out the community. We have something to eat probably in the firehall. At the end, by 7:00 P.M., we'd have a baseball match with the RCMP. And that's all the little kids, and they bring their kids too.

You have to have real dedicated workers who wouldn't worry about their overtime or anything like that. I did a lot of evening and weekend work with no pay. And my family did. We all worked; whatever I did, they have to come and help me. Otherwise I'll fail. And my niece, Joan—Alec's daughter—her husband and her family really took part. And then the grandparents of some of the kids were there, and Verna, and Laurie, and Annabelle and Tom were the big supporters. Anything I do, they'll come out to help. You need to have people that really care.

Mildred's caring and commitment encompasses the whole community. In her "The Song of the Homeless," a homeless person asks, first in Sm'algyax and then in English:

Guun ama nii guul waalm
 Guun ama nii guul waalm
 Ama gan si'giniidzm
 Ła yagu haxhaaxgm tgya'wn

Ła yagu ha haxhaaxgm
 Ła yagu ha haxhaaxgm
 Ła yagu ha haxhaaxgm

Why do you stare at us?
 Do you think we're having a good time?
 Do you think we're having a good time on this welfare?
 We are the homeless.
 We are the poor.
 We are the forgotten people.
 We live in the bush.

We eat whatever we can scrounge around for.
You can look at us,
But please don't stare at us.

Mildred described to me how she sang this song first for city dignitaries, and then for a UNBC graduation ceremony for social workers:

They had a meeting at the golf course, between Kitsumkalum, Kitselas, and the City of Terrace. They called it "Hands Across the River." They want to start working together. There must be something in it for them. (Laughs). I'm really suspicious! They always invite me along, to say something. But I thought, "This is the time to let this song be heard, what I've come up with." So I stood up and I sang it.

Anne: And then you translated it.

Mildred: Mm-hm. And then they invited me up at the grad for the social workers, UNBC. And I sang that. Social workers—they have to know. They seem to think that they're "it." They're the social workers. They tell the people what to do.

Anne: That's good training for them.

Mildred: To know that the people are people.

Healing

Ts'msyen culture is based on the wisdom of elders that is passed down from generation to generation, including the teaching of values: respect, honesty, obedience, resourcefulness, and compassion, including caring for community members. Traditionally, these lessons are taught by the extended family, including grandparents, aunts and uncles. The wounds that resulted from the cultural disruption of the past century are being healed in various ways, and the elders I spoke with believe that language and music play an important role in that healing. Lorna Johnson:

It's my biggest dream, is to teach our people the language. That's my biggest dream. I was telling my girls, I said, boy, I'll be in heaven...once I get them to learn. Look at the kids, I said. It just gives me great pleasure, and it just makes me...I don't know how to explain it...Just to hear the kids learn the language, and so fast. Just imagine, with the Head Start. You just say it to them two or three times and they already got it. And same thing with the kindergarten. Imagine, the older people, it's kind of hard on them. Because they've already grown up. They hear the language. Some of them do, but they want to learn how to write. And that's my biggest concern, is to teach. I don't care how old I am, as long as I can teach them. Teach the language and teach them how to write, so that they can start passing it on to their kids, and their children's children. We've got to keep the Ts'msyen people alive in writing and talking the language.

Mildred Roberts:

This one young man was saying he just couldn't do anything. He was in this treatment center and then rehab for a long time. And nobody could get across to him, until this group of dancers invited him in to drum with them, and he said that's where he got healed. Feeling the heartbeat of his mother.

That's where the drum comes from. The babies grow inside you, hearing the heartbeat of the mother. That's why they're finding that the beat of the drum—it brings them back to their mother, and [they] start all over again.

Debbie Moore:

When I think of music in my life, the thought that came to me was that music didn't come into my life until I started my healing. And it was after I started my healing in the mid-90s that I could actually hear music—see the benefits. I watched a performance at the arena one year. They called it a Powwow. It was a gathering of different Nations coming together, and dancing, sharing their music and their song and dance. I watched the children, and these children were normally shy individuals when it came to public appearances. If they were with their family and that, they would tend to be shy. Well, as I watched them dancing and singing their cultural songs, I seen a change in them. This was a new individual, a proud, proud person. Proud of who they were, proud to show that they could sing the songs, proud to show that they could dance, and that's when it dawned on me how strong Aboriginal dance groups were, how strong they made their kids, because it's something that came natural to them.

And it was easy for them to learn the music, learn the words to speak their language through song. It was easier to learn in that manner. It's very difficult to learn your language if you haven't used it growing up. And I see that through song and dance groups, you could learn the language a lot easier.

All of this is healing: learning the language, learning the music. It's all part of healing.

Chapter Summary

Music does not exist in a social vacuum; it grows from, and is connected to, every aspect of the life of the community to which it belongs. Through anecdotes and examples from their own lives, the six elders taught me that their music, culture, values and identity are inseparable. They demonstrated the importance of elders by telling me about the late Vera Henry, her profound influence on the cultural life of her community, and how she had helped them to believe in themselves and to perform with confidence and pride. They explained the importance of extended family, and the values they were raised with, by recalling incidents in which aunts and uncles taught important life skills, lessons, and values. They related memories in which music helped individuals reconnect with their culture. Through their narratives, the six participants helped me understand how music solidifies relationships, strengthens cultural bonds, transmits language, bestows confidence, and helps those who are socially or culturally disconnected—or hurting in other ways—to heal.

It is important to understand and honour these ways in which music helps strengthen and bind Ts'msyen culture when one is considering including Ts'msyen music in a school curriculum. The critical role of elders in the transmission of Ts'msyen culture dictates that an elder be consulted and present when teaching Ts'msyen songs or other aspects of cultural performance, or developing curriculum. The presence of elders helps First Nations students gain confidence in the ways described above and provides valuable cultural guidance to the teaching process.

Ts'msyen music and cultural performance transmit important values and knowledge, including respect, a willingness to work, and concern for the welfare of others. The process of teaching and performing needs to reflect those values.

The Story of *Two Whale Stories*

During the winter of 2007-2008, I worked with Mildred Roberts and Melodie Johnson to develop two of Mildred's family stories into a classroom resource. The stories had grown out of my earlier interviews and conversations with Mildred; she had related two family stories and had suggested that we develop them into a story my students could perform. Our goal was to produce fine arts teaching resources that met the protocols and guidelines outlined by the interviewees and summarized on pages 99 to 117. This meant that the resource would be co-constructed with elders; permission for its use would be granted by the owner or owners of the stories; it would contain local Ts'msyen content, knowledge, and values; and an elder would be present in the classroom during the time the students were learning it. The result was *Two Whale Stories*, a dramatic setting of the two Roberts family stories written for the elementary classroom. I include *Two Whale Stories* in Appendix A.

Mildred, Melodie and I spent many hours at my kitchen table developing the narrative into a performance piece, with Mildred composing the accompanying song and Melodie conceptualizing and designing the props. Don Roberts, the chief councilor of Kitsumkalum and Mildred's son, allowed me to record his telling of the second story, his experience fishing with the whales, and granted permission for my students to perform it.

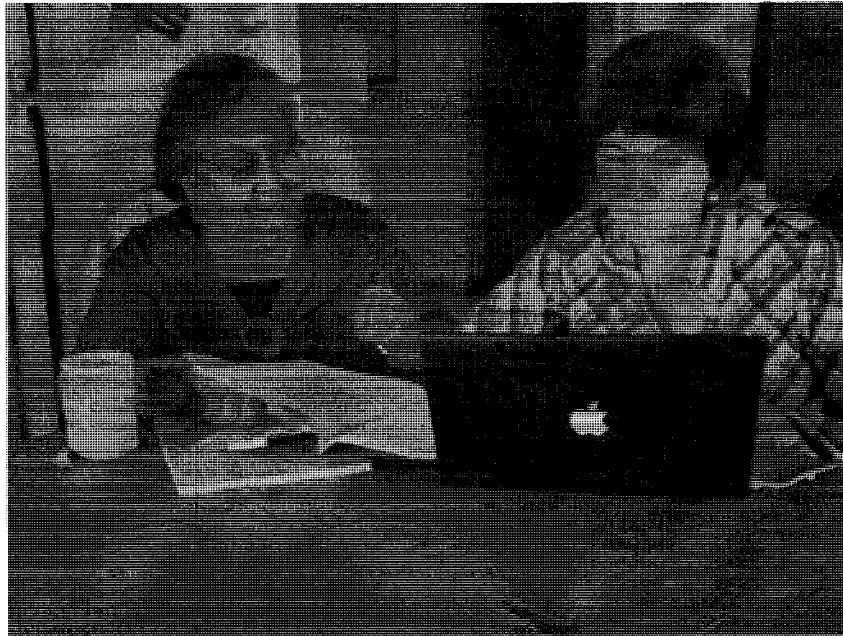


Figure 3: Anne Hill and Mildred Roberts (photo by Judy McCloskey)

I decided to have my grade four students from Thornhill Elementary School perform the story, for three reasons: it seemed best suited to that age and grade level, the study of First Nations history and traditions is part of the grade four social studies curriculum, and one of the grade four teachers, Joan Billey, was quite enthusiastic about the project. We had collaborated successfully in another First Nations performance project the previous year along with a Ts'msyen role model, and I knew I could count on her help and support.

As I taught the narrative and accompanying song, the children and I modified the story in various ways. We simplified some of the wording that was difficult for children to say or remember, while staying as true to the original oral version as possible. We added actions and decided how to represent the various sound effects. I played both classes a recording of Mildred singing the whale song, to help with pronunciations. Mildred came to

visit the classroom, along with her cousin, Frances Christianson, and the two women gave us valuable input and feedback on pronunciation and protocol. Joan Billey helped the fifty-five children fashion matching vests for their performance. The two classes performed “Two Whale Stories” first at an evening dessert concert sponsored by the school, and then at the R.E.M. Lee Theatre as part of the Pacific Northwest Music Festival. At the Festival, they received a trophy for displaying “the most musicality and enthusiasm in a non-competitive category.”

To help us celebrate our Festival success and to share the performance with other members of the Kitsumkalum community, Mildred organized a feast for us on May 8, 2008 at the Kitsumkalum Hall, inviting the performers, their families, and Kitsumkalum community members. Over 250 people attended; approximately 150 from Thornhill, and over 100 from Kitsumkalum. The evening began with the Kitsumkalum Head Start students singing a welcome song before dinner and Mildred giving a blessing in Sm’algyax. My students were amazed by the amount and variety of food that was piled high on the six banquet-sized end-to-end tables, including seaweed, herring eggs and sea lion meat, as well as familiar foods like spaghetti and potato salad. The Kitsumkalum community had provided all of the food. Many of the children politely tried traditional foods they had never eaten before. We had discussed manners that day in school, and I observed the children following the etiquette we had talked about.

After dinner, my students performed “Two Whale Stories” for the audience. Four of them read an introduction they had written together, which read:

We would like to thank Mrs. Roberts and Don Roberts for inviting us tonight, and for giving us their family stories to tell. It is an honour to be here. The stories are true. They are about the spirit connection between people and whales.

Every story has a lesson. This story's lesson is about respecting all life, because all life is important. Thank you.

Throughout the presentation, the children demonstrated respect and focused attention, giving their best performance yet. The audience gave us a standing ovation and a number of them were moved to tears. Afterwards, two of the children presented Mildred with a framed picture of the students and a DVD of our school performance. Don Roberts spoke about his experience with the whales, which was especially meaningful and important for us because the students had not met him yet. At the feast, he publicly granted his permission for us to use his story.

After the performance and speeches, many observers came forward to tell me how moved they had been. Larry Derrick, a Nisga'a man who had been fishing near Don's boat in the 1990s during the encounter with the whales, commented, "This is how Adaawx are made." Colleen Austin, Teacher-in-Charge at Kitsumkalum's 'Na Aksa Gila Kyew Learning Centre, told me she believed the performance and the converging of the Thornhill and Kitsumkalum communities had been a significant and historic healing experience; two culturally diverse communities had come together for the first time with the common focus of children and music.

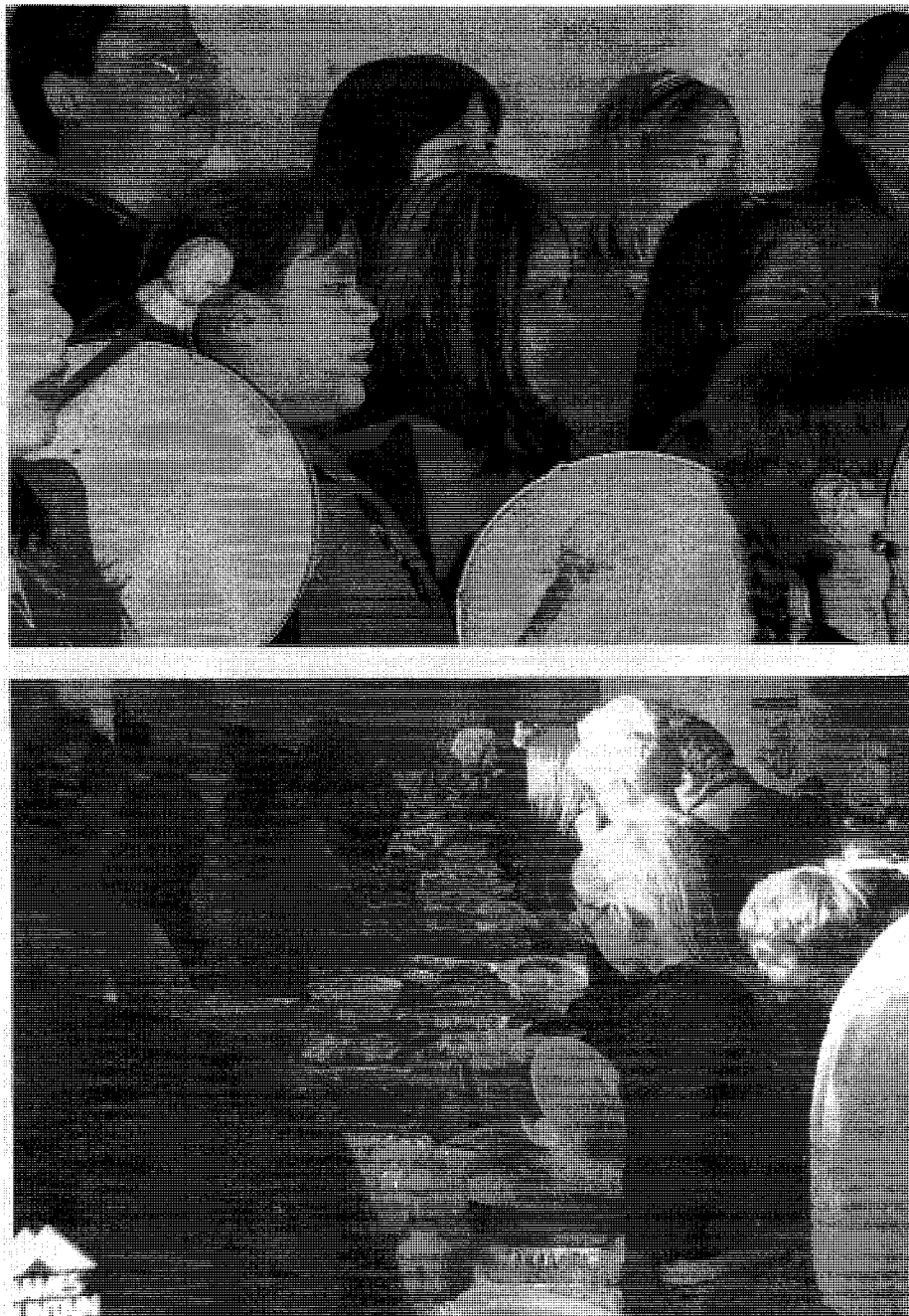


Figure 4. Above: Students performing at Kitsumkalum Hall (photo by Joan Billey). Below: Thornhill students feasting at the hall. (photo by Bruce Hill).

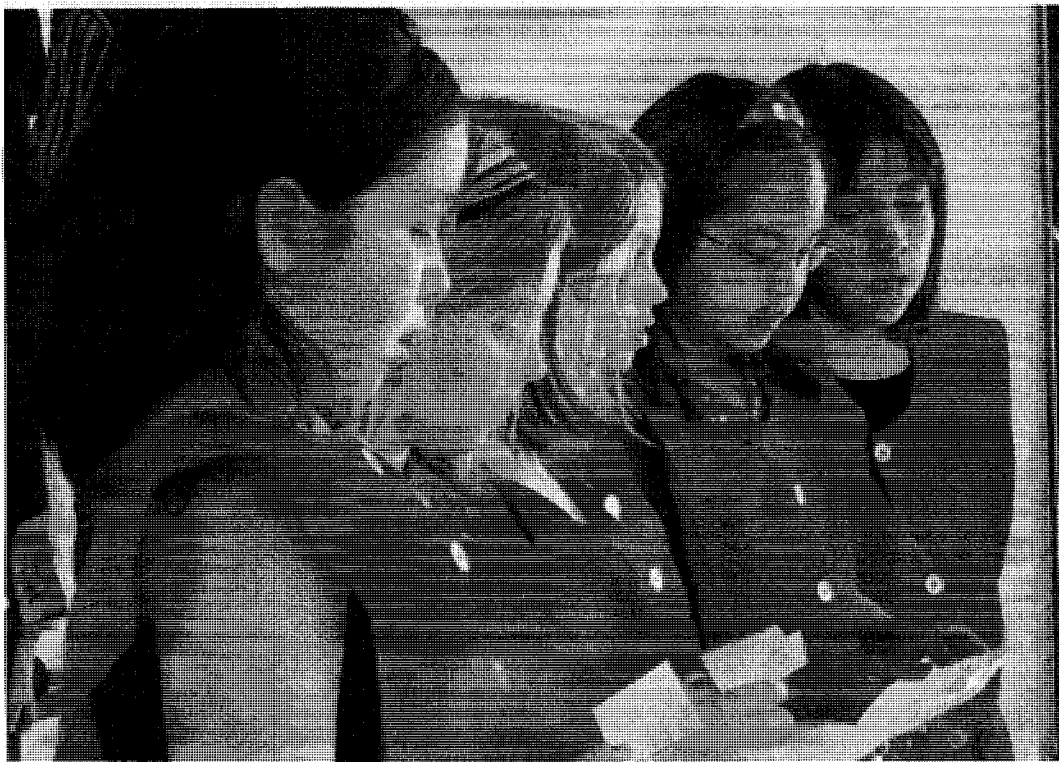


Figure 5. Above: Grade four classes perform *Two Whale Stories*. Below: Students introduce the story (photos by Joan Billey).

Later, Rosemary Craig, a teacher at 'Na Aksa Gila Kyew, pointed out, "The 'Two Whale Stories' represents an intersection of community history with the present. It is very significant that it was music and children. That is exactly how you want teachings presented—as living culture, not a museum piece" (personal communication). Patricia Vickers, a curriculum consultant for 'Na Aksa Gila Kyew, reflected:

There's a place where the mind is set aside, and is simply coming from an eternal place, that the heart is connected to... That's what I saw happen in the performance. And did they ever give. They were really focused. I noticed that they really felt what they were doing. I didn't see any of them really uncomfortable with the modern Adaawx. That's the best way, I think, for anyone to experience another culture—through a story that someone gives to them to enact. [The children] became one, not just with the people, but with the land, with the force that's greater than you and I—the supernatural world. All of these dimensions, they align. And that's what happened. All of the dimensions aligned, and the children were in it, and they were leading the way.

That is what I personally experience when I choose respect. If we were to look at the Ayaawx, our ancestral law, that's your responsibility as a teacher—to do just what you did. And it creates space. It aligns you. You become aligned with the supernatural world—with the land, with the people. How can you really explain it? They were the tellers of the story. It's a place of responsibility, and they knew it, and they stood up to it (personal communication, May 2008).

Co-developing, teaching, and directing the Whale Story was a learning experience for me as well as for my students. The rehearsal time had displaced my usual curriculum, which includes recorder, xylophone, and music notation; I pushed aside nagging feelings of guilt over this. We began the unit with a discussion of crests, or pdeex, and their meaning for First Nations. Several Aboriginal students shared what crest they belonged to, which led to a wider discussion about local First Nations traditions and customs. Introducing the song led to a discussion about the Sm'algyax language; in turn, this led several First Nations students to relate their experiences at feasts, where some had heard the language spoken.

The day after the feast, I asked my students to write down (1) what they had learned as a result of performing the Whale Story; (2) what had surprised them about the experience; and (3) any other comments they wanted to make. Here are some of their responses:

I learned that First Nations are important. There was a lot of people there. The food was great.

It was so cool -
The food was as good as my Mom makes it.
I Loved it.

I learned to be polite
What was new we net don.

I learned who Dog actually is.
New people and food
the food was awesome

I learned that humans can connect with whales and other animals. What was new to me was the heron, eggs and the fried seaweed. I saw that lots of people appreciated it that we performed the play. I thought the hot dogs and the Kentucky fried chicken was really good. I had a really good time and had lots of fun. There was plenty of jobs there to have.

I was there.

I learned that people and whales can communicate with each other.

What was new was I have never been to the Kitsumcalkum hall.

We did good and we all tried really hard.

I learned that all life is important and all life should be respected. I also learned who Don was.

All the food surprised me because there was so much of it and it was so good because there was also new types of food too.

I hope Mrs. Roberts will live a long healthy life and Mrs. Hill.

I learned to respect all life.

To get an understanding of whaling.

The food was good.

I learned That
I met Don, I was new cuz
I had never been to a feast
That dinner was really good

I learned to respect all life
the food was surprising
because there was lots of it.

I learned that all life matters in different
ways. I was surprised that Mrs. Hill almost started to
cry and the food was amazing and kind of different.
I think we did a good job on performing the two
stories.

I learned that Don and Mildred are nice
people

I've never performed at a feast

The food was awesome and there was
lots of it and it was so good

It was the best feast I've ever been
to

In worrying about what they were not learning, I had been underestimating the far more important lessons that my students were learning: respect, open-mindedness, and striving to do your best. One of the classes had been difficult all year in terms of classroom management, yet during the performances, and especially onstage at the feast hall, they were focused, proud, respectful, and completely engaged with the story. This holistic engagement is a rare gem that teachers seek for their students but do not always find.

In hindsight, I wouldn't change a thing.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

Below, I summarize the results of my research, including the interview participants' recommendations for including Ts'msyen music in schools, guidelines for the development of curricular materials, and the contributions of my research to the sum of knowledge about Ts'msyen music. I reflect upon my personal learning over the course of researching and writing this thesis, how those lessons and insights will impact my teaching and future directions, and how they might be of use to other teachers.

Interview Results

The six participants provided a wealth of cultural knowledge that contextualized and helped me understand the role of cultural performance in their lives. They told me about elders who had played important roles in their lives, giving them courage and approval and providing cultural continuity. They talked about cultural values and the vitally important role of extended family in transmitting those values, which include honesty, respecting others and especially one's elders, work as fun, resourcefulness, and caring for others in their community. They expressed concern about how few elders are left to provide guidance, the disconnection from traditional culture they perceive in young people, and the societal dangers that young people face.

They support the idea of Ts'msyen cultural performance (singing, drumming, dramatization, and dancing) being part of a public school music program and they believe this inclusion is valuable for a number of reasons. First, it offers guidance and creates a feeling of pride in Aboriginal students, as well as creating a feeling of group pride in the performers. Collective pride in a common goal can help to counteract prejudice, and pride in

one's culture can help steer children away from drugs, alcohol, and suicide. Debbie observed that cultural performance "is going to build their self-esteem and they'll know that there's a better way."

They believe that including Ts'msyen cultural performance in schools is a way that the Ts'msyen people can share their culture with others in a non-threatening way. Ts'msyen cultural performance is non-competitive and inclusive by nature, and thus accessible to all children. Charlotte asks, "How else can we share our culture, if we can't do it in the schools?"

Several of the participants told me that the inclusion in schools of Ts'msyen songs is an excellent way to help children learn the Sm'algyax language. Debbie observed it is "easy for them to learn the music, learn the words to speak their language through song." The remaining fluent speakers of Sm'algyax are elderly, and if the Sm'algyax language is to survive, children need to be learning and using it.

Two of the elders told me that teaching Ts'msyen cultural performance in school honours and acknowledges Ts'msyen culture on Ts'msyen territory, so songs, stories and language presented in schools on Ts'msyen territory should be those of the Ts'msyen. Melodie noted that the stories and legends of one First Nation should not be mixed with another: "We need to keep the lessons pure. If it's Ts'msyen, keep it Ts'msyen."

Honouring and following Ts'msyen protocol is of vital importance when presenting Ts'msyen material in schools. The participants collectively described several essential points of protocol to be followed when developing or presenting Ts'msyen curriculum. First, they stressed the importance of using common property songs, rather than material owned by a Waap, family or individual. Common property songs suitable for school use include many

children's songs and games. Composed songs can be used with the composer's permission. When a composer gives permission for his or her songs, stories, or other material to be used, protocol demands that the performer(s) publicly acknowledge and thank the composer.

Collaborating with an elder or other community member when developing resources is another important point of protocol, as well as having a Ts'msyen elder or drum leader present when teaching or performing cultural material. Finally, any monetary profits derived from publishing or presenting such resources or material should be returned to the community.

Several of the participants offered ideas for developing classroom resources. These ideas included developing songs as integrated elements of a teaching unit, such as a unit on bears that includes bear songs, dances and stories. Songs could also be included as integrated elements of a story, as the Whale Song in *Two Whale Stories*. Other ideas include teaching drum-making, and using visuals and field trips to provide cultural context.

The principles and ideas described above are the guidelines the six elders provided for the inclusion of Ts'msyen cultural performance in school classrooms. I followed these guidelines in developing and teaching *Two Whale Stories*. I recently co-presented (with Mildred) these guidelines and teaching ideas at an Aboriginal language conference with positive response, and hope to continue sharing them in published or presentation form in the future.

This Project's Contributions

In researching and writing this work, I learned that Ts'msyen music grew out of a rich and vital tradition, yet I found information on Ts'msyen music scarce and hard to obtain, and

was unable to find an historical overview of Ts'msyen music in the existing literature. I learned that Ts'msyen music usually exists not alone, but as an integral part of cultural performance which includes singing, dancing, drumming and storytelling. I hope that in researching and writing this work, I have filled a need and contributed to the body of knowledge about Ts'msyen music and cultural performance. I will pursue the possibility of publishing this information.

Another goal was to record and notate common property songs that had not been previously recorded and whose survival was endangered. Working with Mildred Roberts, and with the enthusiastic encouragement of several community members, I was able to accomplish that. I hope that preserving these songs can be a way of giving back to the communities I worked with, and will help facilitate the inclusion of the Sm'algyax language in public schools. The common property songs I recorded and notated will be archived with the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas Bands and in the First Nations Education Centres of School Districts 82 and 52 (Terrace and Prince Rupert). Wider publication of these songs will be at the discretion of the bands, as it remains their intellectual property, but is a prospect.

In co-writing *Two Whale Stories* with Mildred Roberts, I have shown how the creative consultative process of working with elders can produce curriculum that is appealing to children. The benefits and rewards of such a process are many: learning elders' stories, developing new relationships, bridging cultures, and having fun while doing so. The result is curriculum that is compelling and connected in vital ways to living communities and natural phenomena. Children easily and naturally relate to such material. The consultative process is labour intensive and time-consuming, as is any meaningful curriculum development, but the

rewards are significant. Other teachers who wish to develop similar curriculum could pursue funding through the provincial Ministry of Education or other grants.

In presenting these teaching materials, I have also helped fill a local need by contributing materials with local content. Mildred Roberts has given the 'Na Aksa Gila Kyew Learning Centre permission to use *Two Whale Stories* as part of their curriculum; this returning of curricular materials to the community completes the circle. I hope that others will be able to use and enjoy this material. My students who participated in the *Two Whale Stories* performance were recently invited, a year later, to perform at the local Historica Fair to be held in May 2009, and their enthusiasm for performing the stories is as great now as it was last year. When Mildred and I presented *Two Whale Stories* at a recent Aboriginal language conference, several people expressed interest in teaching it to their students. We will pursue options for publishing it.

My Journey

The preservation of First Nations language and culture is challenging for reasons that include ownership issues, the passing on of elders, and difficult politics. A non-Aboriginal person attempting to work in this field also faces the challenge of establishing trust in the community in which he or she is working. Building that trust can take a long time, but its absence makes a difficult task impossible. I was aware from the beginning of my journey that there would be potholes along the road.

When I began the project, I was quite apprehensive about gaining the support of the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas communities, and was prepared for disapproval and failure. Yet I found that when I approached elders and community members respectfully, with a concern for protocol, and asked for their help, they were generally very supportive of my goals.

Charlotte Guno told me, “If all the protocols are followed, and you don’t hurt anybody...most of the time the answers would be yes. Simple, you know. Yes.”

She was right. The experience of collaborating with Mildred in developing and presenting *Two Whale Stories* was the most satisfying experience I have had as a teacher. The children’s experience performing in the feast hall far exceeded my expectations that the project would work. Now, nearly a year later, my students still talk about what an “awesome” experience it was; they understand that something significant took place that night. I believe that they learned profoundly important lessons about the meaning of respect and honour that no one could have imparted to them through explaining or lecturing. I had initially been uneasy about the curriculum I had had to give up to teach *Two Whale Stories*, but those concerns were more than answered by these important outcomes.

Along the road, I discovered the complexity and beauty of traditional Ts’msyen songs and narrative. I was taken with the melodic and rhythmic intricacy of the early songs that Barbeau and Beynon collected, and came to admire the passion with which the Ts’msyen people undertook the learning of band instruments and choral singing during the missionary period, when their traditional music and art forms were suppressed. Hearing and reading the adaawx, I became acquainted with the beauty and poetry of the Sm’algyax language.

Slowly, over the two years it took to complete my journey, I began to understand how songs, stories and culture are inseparable, why cultural context is so important, and why it must frame the teaching of music. The six elders whom I interviewed guided my path, teaching me about their culture using stories, anecdotes and examples. They related memories that often functioned as parables to elucidate general points about values, protocol, spirituality or traditions, rather than telling or lecturing me—leaving me to connect the dots.

Often, I did not understand the relevance of a particular story or recollection to the topic of music until I re-read and reflected on the transcripts much later.

Being non-Aboriginal, I do not have first-hand or intuitive knowledge about Ts'msyen culture; I faced a steep learning curve, but I had lots of help. Developing one's own curriculum with the collaboration and support of the community takes time and sounds daunting at the outset, but the rewards can be immense. Along the way, I had fun, made lasting friendships, and helped preserve songs and stories for future generations.

Limitations of the Study

In seeking elders who were willing to work with me, I was aware that not everyone in the community was willing to be interviewed or share cultural knowledge, and that those who responded positively are a self-selected group. I presented my call for interviewees at Elders' Group meetings at both Kitselas and Kitsumkalum. Those who did not respond may have had a less positive perspective on the research questions than those who responded and were subsequently interviewed. In particular, there were two individuals with extensive cultural knowledge I had hoped to interview who, disappointingly, either did not return my phone messages or indicated through others that they were not willing to be interviewed.

Further, the study and conclusions are based on a small sample. The breadth and depth of the interviews placed limits on the number of people I could include, and I have no way of knowing whether my sample of six people is representative of the community at large. As described on page 92, the six interviewees were chosen using reputational sampling based on their recommendation by elders' groups, their knowledge of music and education, and their willingness to participate. Their thoughts, beliefs and memories may or may not capture the full range of traditional musical knowledge held by other community members. This suggests

that the guidelines, songs, and materials I have presented here are just “the tip of the iceberg.” A great deal more consultation and collaborative work is needed to expand the range of guidelines for instructional use and curriculum materials.

Implementation of the model I present here for collaborative curriculum development presents considerable challenges, especially for non-Aboriginal teachers. The process is time-consuming and requires gaining the support of the community. Non-Aboriginal teachers may feel intimidated by unfamiliar cultural norms, while Aboriginal teachers may face barriers such as band, family or house politics. There are many risks involved: the risk of rejection by the community, of difficult politics, of producing work that does not meet with community approval or one’s own expectations. In addition to these issues that face an independent researcher, there are challenges inherent in an educational institution partnering with an Aboriginal community, as Evan, McDonald and Nyce (1999) describe and which I discuss on page 77. Both the community and the educational institution need to clearly articulate their goals in the collaborative process, and community and schools must each maintain their autonomy.

However, as I have shown, collaborative curriculum development offers satisfying returns. The creative process is often its own reward, and when approached with an attitude of mutual respect, such collaboration can help create new relationships and compelling teaching material, foster greater cultural sensitivity in teachers and students and respect for other cultures in the classroom, and help preserve cultural knowledge.

Another limitation is that one person, Mildred Roberts, provided most—though not all—of the material I present here for classroom use. Others subsequently corroborated the accuracy of several of the traditional songs she sang from memory, including Sing Big

Potato, Dzin Dzin, the Berry Picking Song, and Little Crow's Song. Finding elders who remembered and were willing to share traditional songs and stories was not an easy task, and I do not possess the cultural background that would have made entry into this project easier. I am extremely grateful to Mildred for her trust and generosity in this endeavor.

Further Directions

It has been a privilege and a pleasure to work with the Ts'msyen community on this project. Further inquiry by other researchers could include speaking to more community members regarding the protocol and advisability of including Tsimshyen music in public schools.

Others may wish to follow the protocol and guidelines presented here in developing more classroom resources. Suggestions for developing First Nations resources include school "elders-in-residence" and elder mentoring, increasing the number of First Nations teachers in the district, and the creation of Integrated Learning Packages (IRPs) that are more explicit than *Shared Learnings* in offering province-wide guidelines for consultation and curriculum frameworks.

Ideas for making this sort of curriculum development more readily accessible to teachers include presenting more professional development workshops, and publication of the material presented here through the Kitsumkalum Band, the provincial Ministry of Education, or the British Columbia Teachers' Federation. Including these protocols and guidelines in teacher education programs could also be helpful in a number of ways: helping more teachers develop a positive view of First Nations content, promoting a greater understanding of broad and local Indigenous world view, and encouraging a collaborative approach to curriculum construction.

I hope to continue this work in the future. Mildred Roberts has expressed the desire to partner with me in developing more fine arts curricular material based on local knowledge, and I look forward to continuing my collaboration with her. I am deeply indebted to her, and to Charlotte, Debbie, Don, Lorna and Melodie, for helping me to understand and appreciate their rich and beautiful culture by sharing their memories, stories, and songs.

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Appendix A: Songs

Mildred Roberts provided the majority of the songs and teaching material I present here, with contributions from Don Wells and Melodie Johnson. All the songs I have recorded and transcribed are either common property songs—that is, songs not owned by families, crests, or individuals—or songs that the study participants composed and gave me permission to use. The songs include Don’s composition, Happy Song; a ball bouncing chant, a hand game, Little Crow’s Song, a berry-picking song, a lullaby, Sing Big Potato, a dinner song, and a children’s song that calls in the four crests to dance.

1. Happy Song

©Don Wells 2007

Don Wells, leader of the Xbishuunt Dancers, composed this song. He has granted permission for the Happy Song to be sung in classrooms, provided that there is at least one Ts'msyen person present. Terrace-area dance groups regularly perform this enjoyable, upbeat song.

Allegro ♩ = 126

A

Hey - a hey - a ha ha hey - a ha ha hey - a

4 Fine

ha ha a hey - a. Hey - a hey - a ha ha hey - a

7 B

ha ha hey - a ha ha a hey - a. Ha ha hey - a

10 D.C. al Fine

hey - a ha hey ha ha hey - a hey - a ha hey

The song is performed in the following form, with a drum played on the quarter-note pulse:

1. A section without drum
2. A section with drum
3. B section with drum
4. A section without drum
5. A section with drum
6. B section with drum
7. A section without drum

2. Lullaby²²

Mildred Roberts describes this lullaby as a nursery song “to calm a child down when they’re crying or fussy. Then the grandmother or the mother would sing.” She demonstrates how the mother or grandmother would very gently flick each eyelid with two gentle clicking sounds: “T’as Ts’al.” “Close little eyelids, close up tight.”

Andante ♩ = 80

Ai hee, ai hee goo-gol waalt gaa-das noot - ga
yawk gal sig - a - booxt gaa-das noot as - ga gye - ka ai hee,
ai hee, ai hee, goo - gol waalt ai hee,

*From this point on, sing a quarter-tone lower.

Ai hee, Ai hee,
Googol waalt gaadas nootga
Yawk gal sigaboxt
Gaadas noot
Asga gyeka
Ai hee, Ai hee.

Rock-a-bye, rock-a-bye.
What is your mother doing?
Your mother is picking cockles down the beach.
Rock-a-bye, rock-a-bye.

²² The music notation software I used did not allow me to include the barred L (ł) or the underlined G (g) in the lyrics that are inside the music staff. For correct spellings that include these two letters, I have re-written the lyrics following the notated songs, for this and all the subsequent songs.

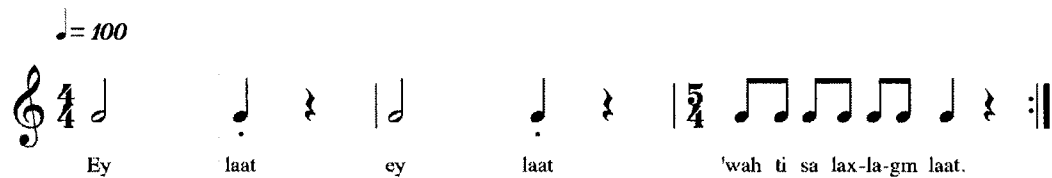
3. Two Games with Chants

Ball Bouncing Chant

This children's ball bouncing chant accompanies the game of trying to keep the ball bouncing up in the air for as long as possible. The ball is bounced in rhythm with the chant:

Ey laat ey laat 'wah ti sa laxlagm laat.

"Bouncy ball, bouncy ball, the ball that never falls."



Pick Me, Little Crow (Button Game)

In this game, several children sit in a circle with their hands held in the praying position, but pointing away from them toward the centre of the circle. One child walks around the circle holding a button, with his/her hands in the same position as those in the circle. Another child, who is "it," hides his/her eyes.



The child with the button pretends to put it into various hands, and finally puts it into someone's hand secretly, so that no one but the child in the middle and the child with the button know who have it. "It" joins the game and has to guess who has the button. The child with the button walks around the circle trying to guess who has the button as everyone chants

the words: “ ‘Nüüyil guuyin lgu gaax.” The chant is repeated as many times as necessary until the guesser picks the correct person. When pointing to someone who might have a button, the guesser calls “Oo!” (as in the last bar of the song). If the guesser is wrong, then he or she must hide their eyes again, but if correct then the guesser gets to be the next button hider.

4. Dzin Dzin

“Dzin dzin” means “pinchy, pinchy,” and “gaax” is raven or crow. This children’s hand game is played with two people, as follows: Person one places one hand in mid air. Person two very gently pinches and holds a bit of skin on the back of person one’s hand, and person one does the same to person two’s hand that is pinching person one. Person two does the same with his/her other hand. Attached in this pinching position, all four hands bounce in time to the song. At the end of the song, during “gaax gaax gaax gaax,” both players roll their arms as in “pattycake;” on the word “galuuk,” both players gently touch each other on the nose. A mother would play this game with her child, or two children would play it together.

♩ = 96

Dzin dzin dza a - lee - - Dzin dzin

dza a - lee - - Dzin dzin dza a - lee

Gaax gaax gaax gaax ga - luuk!

Dzin dzin dza alee
Dzin dzin dza alee
Dzin dzn dza alee
Gaax gaax gaax gaax, galuk!

5. Berry Picking Song

This song calls the blue jays to come and join the people who are picking berries. Mildred explains, “the blue jays make the noise and let you know when a bear is around. When a bear’s coming, they come flying out.” The last line of the song imitates the sound the bluejay makes. Charlotte Guno also remembers learning this song from her grandmother.

Andante ♩ = 104



K'a bagwis - gwaas saa - li k'a bagwis - gwaas saa - li

gal k'a - ba gwisgwaas saa - li Oo koo koo - la koo!

K'aba gwisgwaas saali
K'aba gwisgwaas saali
Gal k'aba gwisgwaas saali
Oo koo koola koo!

6. Little Crow's Song

Mildred Roberts describes this as an “old nursery song.” Charlotte Guno and Mildred both remember this traditional nursery song from their childhoods. Charlotte remembers learning it from her grandmother, who would sing it as she planted potatoes or weeded the garden.

The musical score is written on two staves in 6/8 time, with a tempo marking of ♩ = 104. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of the song, with lyrics: Hal yaan ga - gaa - gi hal yaan ga - gaa - gi 'waat dza wil xam - lat - ga na a-. The second staff continues the melody, starting with a measure rest of 7, and contains the lyrics: was nts'i - 'its - 'n gans ni - yaan. The melody is simple and repetitive, characteristic of a nursery song.

Hal yaan Gagaagi
Hal yaan gagaagi
'Waat dza wil xamlatga na awas nts'i'it'sn gans niyaan.

Mildred is not sure what “Gagaagi” means; she describes it as “a real old sound.”

Walk along the beach, little crow.
Find something to eat by your grandmother and grandfather.

7. Gaalsmt Ho (Dinner Song)

This song is a welcome to begin eating:

Andante ♩ = 84

Gaals - mt ho, gaals - mt ho lad - m txoox - ga sm

lad - m txoox - ga sm la gwaank - sa dzam sug-siid - u la

gwaank - sa dzam sug-siid - u Eh heh heh eh heh heh eh heh heh

Gaalsmt ho, gaalsmt ho [beckon with both hands]
 ɫadm txooxga sm, ɫadm txooxga sm [mime eating]
 ɫa gwaanksa dzam sgusiidu, ɫa gwaanksa dzam sgusiidu [hands bounce, palms up]
 Eh heh heh, eh heh heh [hold tummy].

Come you all, come you all.
 It's time to eat, it's time to eat.
 Potatoes are cooked, potatoes are cooked.
 Yum yum yum, yum yum yum.

8. Liimin 'Wii Sgusiid (Sing, Big Potato)

This humorous song borrows its tune from the Christian hymn "Bringing in the Sheaves."

Andante ♩ = 100

The musical score is written on two staves in 6/8 time. The tempo is marked 'Andante' with a quarter note equal to 100 beats. The melody is simple, using a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across notes. The first staff contains the first line of the song, and the second staff contains the second line, starting with a measure rest of 6 measures.

Lii - min 'wii sgu - siid, lii - min 'wii sgu - siid. A - mi dza 'wah

6
lii - min dim t'uu - su 'wii t'm - gaw - 'sm

Liimin 'wii sgusiid,
Liimin 'wii sgusiid.
Ami dza 'wah liimin,
Dim t'uusu 'wii t'mgawsm!

Sing, big potato,
Sing, big potato.
If you don't sing,
I'll punch you in the head!

9. T'm Yan

©Mildred Roberts 2008

Mildred Roberts wrote these lyrics to the tune of a well-known common property song. In Mildred's song, the children belonging to each crest—Ganhada, Gisbutwada, Laxgibuu and Laxsgiik—are being called to come in and dance.

Andante ♩ = 92

T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan lguu gaax T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm
 yan lguu gaax 'Waay - m wil dzo - ga Gan - had - a a gwa
 Gaaym gwis - 'nap - 'a'al - a gal di hoy - at.

1. T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan lguu gaax
 T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan lguu gaax.
 'Waaym wil dzoga Ganhada a gwa,
 Gaaym gwis'nap'a'ala gal di hoyat.

Come out, come out, come out, little Raven.
 Come out, come out, come out, little Raven.
 We found a Ganhada village here;
 They all wear button blankets.

2..T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan 'wii 'neext
 T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan 'wii 'neext.
 'Waaym wil dzoga Gisputwada a gwa,
 Gaaym gwis'nap'a'ala gal di hoyat.

Come out, come out, come out, big Whale.
 Come out, come out, come out, big Whale.
 We found a Gisputwada village here;
 They all wear button blankets.

T'm yan, T'm yan, T'm yan gibaaw
 T'm yan, T'm yan, t'm yan gibaaw.
 Waaym wil dzoga Laxgibuu a agwa,
 Gaaym gwis'nap'a'ala gal di hoyat.

Come out, come out, come out, Wolf.
 Come out, come out, come out, Wolf.
 We found a Laxgibuu village here;
 They all wear button blankets.

T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan 'wii sgiik
 T'm yan, t'm yan, t'm yan 'wii sgiik.
 Waaym wil dzoga Laxsgiik a agwa,
 Gaaym gwis'nap'a'ala gal di hoyat.

Come out, come out, come out, Eagle.
 Come out, come out, come out, Eagle.
 We found a Laxsgiik village here;
 They all wear button blankets.

Appendix B: Na Adawga 'Neext: Two Whale Stories

© Mildred Roberts, 2008

These two true stories are part of the family history of Mildred Roberts, an elder and matriarch from Kitsumkalum. The first story, the Brother Whale Story, tells of an encounter between Mildred's grandparents, Mark and Rebecca Bolton, and a whale, when they were fishing in the early 1900s. The second story, The Baby Whale Story, recalls another meeting with a group of whales that Mildred's son, Don Roberts, had while commercial fishing in the mid-1990s.

These events hold special meaning for this family because Mildred, her grandfather, and her son all belong to the Gisbutwada, or Killer Whale, crest. Both of the stories demonstrate the spirit connection between human and whale. The stories teach the importance of respect for all living creatures, and of heeding the ancestors' and elders' stories and teachings.

Narrative

The Brother Whale Story

Grandfather and Grandmother were fishing one day. Grandfather was jigging for halibut, and Grandmother was paddling the boat for him. It was a good day, and they were having a good catch. Suddenly, a whale swam up alongside them and floated there, watching, and wishing for one of the halibut to eat. The grandfather sensed this, and he stood up in his boat. The grandfather saw his brother whale.

Grandmother felt scared. She was worried that the whale would tip them over. But the grandfather knew that he could trust his brother whale. He took a halibut and threw it to the whale. As he threw it, he called out to the whale, "I share this with you, my brother."

The whale dove down under the water. When he surfaced, he was holding up the halibut. In this way, he showed the fisherman that he had received his gift and was thankful for it.

The Baby Whale Story

Many years later, their great-grandson, Don, was commercial fishing, when a baby whale got caught in his net. The baby had been swimming with its mother and the uncles and aunts from its pod. The other killer whales were angry when the baby got caught. They turned back to try and help. The baby was frightened and began to cry.

The fisherman got another boat to hold the net tight. As he tried to get close to the baby to help it, he could sense the baby's fear and the mother's anger. He began to talk to the mother, eye to eye, heart to heart. Very slowly, he picked the net up, holding a pipe pole in his hand, still talking to the mother. He explained to her that he was going to use the pole to pull the net off the baby.

Right away, the mother began to understand that her baby was safe. She moved her eye to show the fisherman that she understood. Her eye was big, like a football. She gave a peaceful blink. The instant that she blinked, the baby stopped crying. And at that moment, the fisherman knew that he had connected with the whale, eye to eye, heart to heart.

He climbed back into the boat and carefully began to pull the net off the baby. The mother calmly watched him with trust in her eyes. He pulled and pulled until the baby was free. The baby whale's skin felt soft and delicate, and smooth like a hard-boiled egg.

As soon as the net was in, the mother took the baby, and together they swam up to the stern, where the fisherman was standing. They slapped their tails, both at the exact same instant. They dove down under the water until they were further away, and then they turned one last time to say goodbye to him. They looked at him for a long, long time. Then they slapped their tails again and swam away.

The fisherman wondered why the whales had looked at him for so long, and what they were trying to tell him. Later on, he spoke to an elder who knew. The elder told him that the whales were thanking him, and looking at him so that they would never forget him. The elder told the fisherman that someday, he would see the whales again. Waay Wah.

Script and Performance Suggestions

Props:

- 1 large painted cardboard canoe and paddle
- 1 very long net, with several fish and/or starfish attached to it. I used the school's volleyball net, folded in half lengthwise and tied in place. Green tulle or similar see-through fabric sewn or tied across its length gives the appearance of seaweed.
- 1 long piece of lightweight blue cloth, approximately 3 meters in length, to simulate the ocean
- Jigging rope
- Large halibut made of cardboard or other lightweight material

Costumes:

- Rain pants and jacket, for commercial fisherman
- 3 traditional killer whale headpieces—2 large and 1 small.
- The killer whales also wear black capes decorated with buttons and traditional killer whale designs.
- Optional: regalia such as vests decorated with buttons, for chorus

Sound effects and instruments:

- Guiro and/or cabasa to simulate the sound of rope dragging over side of boat (jigging)
- Ocean sounds: could include several rainsticks, a bell tree, and/or fingernails rubbed in a slow circular motion over a drum
- Several traditional hand drums with mallets

Two Whale Stories Script

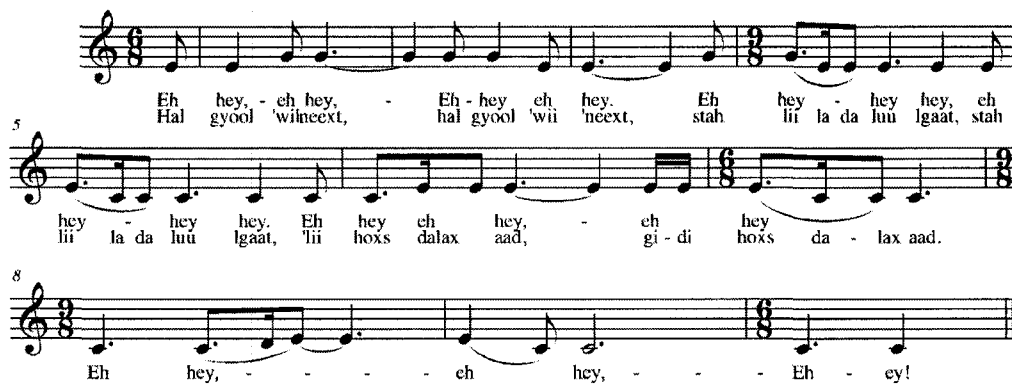
Chorus speaks all lines and does all actions (actions are indicated in **bold type**). Actors, “ocean”, and “net” people mime or move as indicated in the narrative (indicated in ***bold italics***).

Performance time: approximately 15 minutes.

Chorus sings Whale Song, verse 1 (vocables) only:

Whale Song

M. Roberts



Eh hey, - eh hey, - Eh - hey eh hey. Eh hey la - hey hey, eh
Hal gyool 'wilneext, hal gyool 'wii 'neext, stah lii la da luu lgaat, stah
5 hey lii la da hey hey. Eh hey eh dalax hey, - eh gi - di hey hoxs da - lax aad.
8 Eh hey, - - - eh hey, - - - Eh - ey!

Verse 2 lyrics are as written above:

Hal gyool 'wii 'neext
Hal gyool 'wii 'neext
Stah lii la da luulgaat
Stah lii la da luulgaat
'Lii hoxs da lax aat
Gidi hoxs da lax aat
Eh hey, Eh hey, hey-eh!

The whale is floating nearby.
It's watching, keeping an eye
On its child that's caught on a net.

Ocean sounds.

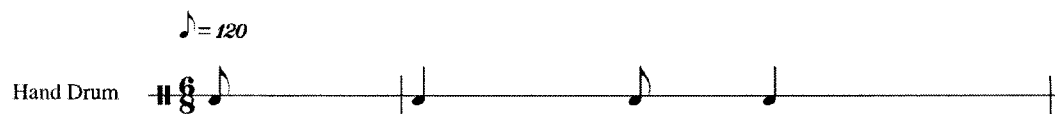
Those holding blue cloth move it to simulate ocean waves.

Two children dressed as Grandpa and Grandma are in the cardboard canoe. Grandfather is fishing, using a jigging rope draped over the side of the canoe. Grandmother is paddling.

Grandpa and Grandma were fishing one day [**2 hands hold pole**]. Grandfather was jigging for halibut [**jig with 2 hands/jigging sound effects**], and Grandmother was paddling [**paddling motions**] the boat for him. It was a good day, and they were having a good catch. Suddenly, a whale swam up alongside them [**2 hands sideways swimming motion**] [**whale enters and mimes swimming**] and floated there, watching [**RH shades brow**], and wishing [**pray hands**] for one of the halibut to eat. The grandfather sensed this [**fingers on temples**], and he stood up in his boat [*Grandfather stands up*].

The grandfather saw his brother [**2 hands over heart**] whale.

Heart-like drumbeats:



[*Whale "swims" to canoe*]

Grandmother felt scared [**fists tremble under chin**]. She was worried that the whale would tip [**RH forearm tipping motion to the right**] them over. But the grandfather knew that he

could trust **[hand over heart]** his brother whale. He took **[mime grabbing fish with 2 hands]** a halibut and threw it **[throw motion]** to the whale. As he threw it, he called out to the whale:

“I share this with you, my brother **[hands out toward audience]**.” Repeat drumbeat:



The whale dove down under the water **[pray hands dive down; whooshing sound effects with mouths, while bending knees]**. **[whale dives down and comes up]** When he surfaced, he was holding up **[hold up 2 hands]** the halibut. In this way, he showed the fisherman that he had received **[hands out toward audience]** his gift **[fists together, palms toward self]** and was thankful **[pray hands]** for it.

Chorus sings Whale Song, verse one (vocables).

Grandfather and grandmother paddle as canoe and whale move offstage during Whale Song.

Fisherman enters stage. Behind him, three or more students enter stage holding a long net. The fisherman and net holders walk in time to a steady, slow drumbeat.

Fisherman stands at end of net throughout performance.

Ocean sounds. Move blue cloth to simulate waves.

Many years later, their great-grandson, Don, was commercial fishing, when a baby whale got caught [**hug self**] in his net. [*baby whale enters, miming swimming, and those holding net wrap the net around it.*] The baby had been swimming [**pray hands up, down**] with its mother and uncles and aunts from its pod. [*Mother whale enters behind baby and stands over it*] The other killer whales were angry [**angry RH fist**] when the baby got caught. They turned back to try and help. The baby was frightened [**shake arms**] and began to cry [**rub eyes**]. (*sound of baby whale crying*)

The fisherman got another boat to hold [**one fist on top of the other**] the net tight. As he got close to the baby to help it, he could sense [**fingers on temples**] the baby's fear [**2 hands under chin, shoulders up**] and the mother's anger [**shake RH fist**].

Chorus sings Whale Song, Verse 2

He began to talk to the mother ...

Chorus	
Hand Drum	

Eye to eye [**Point first to own eye, then gesture out to audience**],

Heart to heart. [**hands on heart, then gesture out to audience**]

V-e-r-y s-l-o-w-l-y [**slow picking up motion with 2 hands**], he picked up the net, holding a pipe pole in his hand [**hands mime holding pole**], still talking to the mother. He explained to her that he was going to use the pole to pull the net off the baby [**hands as if holding pole, and lifting net**]. And right away, the mother began to understand [**RH touches temple 2 times**] that her baby was safe [**cradle arms**].

She moved [**wipe RH through air**] her eye [**RH point to eye**] to show that she understood [**RH touch temple 2 times**].

Her eye [**RH point to eye**] was big [**move hands wide**], like a football. She gave a peaceful [**RH peace sign**] blink [**RH close fingers and thumb together**]. The instant that she blinked [**repeat previous action**], the baby stopped [**arms out, palms toward audience**] crying. And at that moment, the fisherman knew he had connected [**fingers form 2 O's, link, and wiggle**] with the whale...

Chorus	
	<p>Eye to eye, heart to heart.</p>
Hand Drum	

He climbed [**2 hands mime climbing by grabbing air, progressively higher, 3 times**] back into the boat and slowly, carefully, began to pull [**2 hands mime pulling motion**] the net off the baby. [*Students holding net unwrap it from baby as fisherman pantomimes and mother whale watches*] The mother calmly [**palms down and slowly move apart**] watched him with trust [**hands cross over chest**] in her eyes [**both hands point to eyes**]. He pulled

and pulled [**pulling motions while bending backwards and then forwards slightly**] until the baby was free! [**arms up/out**] [*baby whale swims free of net*]. The baby whale's skin felt soft and delicate [**stroke hand**], and smooth like a hard boiled egg [**mime holding and feeling egg**] [*fisherman gently touches baby's skin*].

As soon as the net was in, the mother took the baby [**mime arms holding baby**], and together [**hug self**] they swam [**hands together, wave motions**] up to the stern, where the fisherman was standing [**invert RH 2 fingers on LH palm**]. [*mother and baby whales swim away from net and watch from a few meters away*] They slapped their tails, both at the exact same instant. [**hands clap and drums beat once, simultaneously**] They dove down under the water [**pray hands diving motion, and bend legs, with mouth whooshing sound**] [*mother and baby do same*] until they were further away, and then they turned [**turn slightly to right, then back**] one last time to say goodbye [**wave RH**] to the fisherman [*mother and baby do same*]

They looked [**RH shades brow**] at him for a long, long time.

Then they slapped their tails again [**hands clap and drums beat once, simultaneously**] and swam away [**pray hands sideways swimming motion**] [*mother and baby swim away to offstage*].

The fisherman wondered [**1 finger on RH forehead**] [*fisherman does same*] why the whales had looked at him [**point to both eyes**] for so long, and what they were trying to tell him

[RH index finger on chin; finger moves out toward audience]. Later on, he spoke **[RH 4 fingers in and out from mouth]** to an elder who knew **[RH touches forehead]**.

The elder told him that the whales were thanking him **[RH to lips, and out, like throwing a kiss]**, and looking at him so that they would never **[wag RH finger]** forget **[RH touch head]** him. The elder told the fisherman that some day, he would see **[point to both eyes]** the whales **[dive down pray hands]** again **[hands out toward audience]**.

Waay Wah. **[hands on hips]**.

Chorus sings Whale Song, Verse 2. During final song, all three whales come back onstage and mime swimming in synchronized movement.

Appendix C: Letter of Informed Consent

Dear (Participant's Name):

I am a public school music teacher in Terrace. I would like to include traditional Tsimsyen music in my teaching, and would like to investigate the best way to go about this. I will be conducting research relating to Tsimsyen music and performance. This work will involve individual or group interviews with members of the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas communities including elders and teachers. Working closely with these groups and individuals, I hope to:

- Speak to elders and others about the significance, for them, of Tsimsyen songs and dance
- Learn how members of the Tsimsyen community feel about including Tsimsyen songs and dance in public school curriculum
- Guided by elders, develop protocol for Tsimsyen content to be included in public school music curriculum, if it is deemed appropriate to do so by the Kitselas and Kitsumkalum community members.
- Develop a book and/or CD of Tsimsyen songs, with teaching suggestions, for elementary teachers—again, if this is deemed appropriate by the Kitselas and Kitsumkalum community members.
- Make audio or DVD recordings of elders singing, for inclusion in the book, if deemed appropriate by the community.

The direction of the thesis will be guided at all stages by the answers given by the community members described above.

If you agree to participate in this research, I will ask you questions relating to the research goals listed above. In my thesis, I would like to honour your participation, when quoting you, by using your name in a respectful manner. However, you can choose to be quoted without being identified. **Also, you have a right to refuse to answer any questions or to withdraw from the study at any time.**

Transcripts of interviews will be sent to the participants for review and revision. Otherwise, they will be kept in a locked filing cabinet accessible only by me until thesis work is completed. At that time, recordings and transcripts will be given to the School District 82 First Nations Education Centre and the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas Band Offices, where they will be archived. If you wish to see transcripts at any time, or to discuss this project further, I can be reached at 250-638-8250. The UNBC Research Ethics Board can be reached at 250-960-6506.

The Ethics Committee of the University of Northern British Columbia requires that all participants involved in graduate-level research with a UNBC student sign a letter of consent before participating in interviews or other aspects of the study.

If you would be willing to participate in this research, please complete the form below and return it to me.

Thank you for your interest.

Anne Hill

I agree to participate voluntarily in interview sessions with Anne as part of her research.

Signature

Date

Appendix D: Letter of Support from Kitsumkalum



P.O. BOX 544, TERRACE, B.C.
CANADA V8G 4B5

TEL (250) 635-6177
FAX (250) 635-4622

October 25, 2006

University of
Northern British Columbia
3333 University Way
Prince George, BC
V2N 4Z9

ATTENTION: UNBC Research Ethics Board

RE: Anne Hill Project "Developing a Tsimshian Cultural Performance Resource
for a Public School Music Program."

The Kitsumkalum Band Council supports Ann Hill's project entitled "Developing a Tsimshian Cultural Performance Resource for a Public School Music Program." It is our understanding that Ann Hill's research will involve interviewing Kitsumkalum Elders and Hereditary Chiefs to determine:

1. Any recollections they might have about common property cultural songs, excluding cultural songs that are owned by specific Hereditary Chiefs, Tribal or House,
2. Their thoughts and ideas about the best way to incorporate Tsimshian music into public school teaching

Kitsumkalum further understands that all transcripts of conversations, cultural songs, and research findings will remain the intellectual property of participating members of the Kitsumkalum Tribe and further that Ann Hill's thesis, and any other relevant information will be reviewed with Kitsumkalum Research Participants for approval and/or editing prior to submission or publishing.

It is further agreed that all material that Ann Hill publishes as a result of her thesis and research will remain the intellectual property and copyright property of the Kitsumkalum Tribe of the Tsimshian Nation and the Kitselas Tribe of the Tsimshian Nation, where applicable, rather than by the researcher Ann Hill.

Sincerely,

Steven W. Roberts
Chief Councillor and
Band Manager

PC Ann Hill

Appendix E: Letter of Support from Kitselas

Monday October 23rd, 2006

Kitselas Elders

Re: Anne Hill's Music Project

To whom this may concern;

This is to inform you that we the Kitselas Elders support the project that Mrs. Anne Hill will be working on, developing a Tsimshian music resource for a school music program. We understand that Anne will be speaking to elders and others about their music recollections, and about how they envision Tsimshian music in public schools. Any music whether it be our First Nations songs, which can be incorporated into the School Music program that will be beneficial to the students, has our support.

Thank you,

Fred Wells
President Kitselas Elders

Appendix F: Letter of Support from School District 82



August 25, 2005.

Ms. Anne Hill

Further to our conversation on Tuesday, August 23, 2005, this letter is to confirm that our School District welcomes your proposal to develop a Tsimshian music resource for use in schools.

My understanding is that you are looking at working with Tsimshian elders from both Kitsumkalum and Kitselas on this project.

As the District Officer responsible for First Nations Education, please let me know if, and when, I can support your work. I look forward to us being able to incorporate your materials into our classrooms.

Yours truly,

Rob Greenwood
Assistant Superintendent

c.c. Randy Smalbrugge, Superintendent of Schools
Debbie Moore, Education Administrator, Kitselas
Charlotte Guno, Education Administrator, Kitsumkalum

RG/jlj

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

MEMORANDUM

To: Anne Hill
CC: Margaret Anderson

From: Henry Harder, Chair
Research Ethics Board

Date: December 20, 2006

Re: E2006.1207.150
Developing a Tsimshian Cultural Performance Resource for a School
Music Program

Thank you for submitting the above-noted research proposal to the Research Ethics Board. Please ensure that you provide phone numbers &/or email addresses on the information letter for yourself and the Office of Research. Your proposal has been approved.

We are pleased to issue approval for the above named study for a period of 12 months from the date of this letter. Continuation beyond that date will require further review and renewal of REB approval. Any changes or amendments to the protocol or consent form must be approved by the Research Ethics Board.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

Henry Harder

Appendix H: Letter of Permission from Parents

June 3, 2008

Dear Parents,

I am seeking your permission to include a DVD and still photographs of your child's performance of the "Two Whale Stories," as part of a Masters degree I am now finishing. I would use video footage and photographs from both the school dessert concert that took place April 1, and the Kitsumkalum performance of May 8. This material would be shown as part of my thesis defense, and also included with the text of my thesis.

In order to use this material, I am legally required to have permission from the parents or guardians of all the children in the performance. If you are agreeable, I would be very grateful if you could sign the form below granting these permissions, and send it back to school with your child.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me at 635-5082 (school) or 638-8250 (home).

Thank you in advance for your support.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Hill
Music Teacher

I grant permission for Anne Hill to show video footage and still photographs of my child's performance(s) of "Two Whale Stories" at her thesis defense, and to include this material as part of her MA thesis.

Signed, _____ Date _____

Please print your name _____

Your child's name _____

Appendix I: News Articles About *Two Whale Stories*

Terrace Standard, Wednesday, April 16, 2008



Onstage and off

Hardworking people of all ages are at the heart of the music festival

KIM PERFORMERS as volunteers, a lot of hard work goes into arranging, organizing and putting on the Pacific Northwest Music Festival each year.

And this year is no exception. Above, Northside Elementary Grade 4 students participate in the non-competitive Orff class.

Teacher Anne Hill says for many of the students, this is their first time at the festival. For their performance, adjudicator Judy Hill says there is nothing that she would change in their performance, which is something she doesn't say often.

The students' presentation is called *Two*

Whale Stories — true stories from Kitsumkalum elder Mildred Roberts about her family's encounters with killer whales. The students all made their own vests to wear.

The four students holding mallets above are, from left, Savannah Appels, Rachelle Murphy, Cedric Stirling and Trigg White.

To the right, Lisa Chambers, sitting, and Lisa McLeod, standing, help out at the R.E.M. Lee Theatre as volunteer ushers.

Below, sisters Twyla and Lorna Schmidt, left to right, volunteer for their third year as music festival gala organizers.

For more on the gala, see story below.

Stories and music bridge cultures

By Margaret Spies

TWO GENERATIONS and two cultures came together for the first time thanks to music.

Two classes of Grade 4 students from Thornhill Elementary put on a performance of Two Whale Stories.

Family stories from Kitamukham resident Mildred Roberts — for residents of Kitamukham and their parents.

"What was really significant about this evening was there were two communities that came together through children and music that probably hadn't come together in that way before. Some of the people afterward, including Mildred, thought it was funny," said Thornhill Elementary music teacher Anne Hill.

Roberts and Hill had written out the stories and songs to accompany them for the students to perform at the Pacific Northwest Music Festival. They received excellent significant contributions in the non-competitive Off category.

Under the direction of music teacher Anne Hill, the students choreographed their movements, researched for the roles of the whales and gave lots of input into bringing two whale stories to life.

"I tried to include the kids as much as possible," Hill said, adding the students had practiced alone for the action and sound effects.

"It worked out that the students were able to take the jobs they highlighted their abilities."

from Roberts' son, Don, who gave the classes permission to use the story in the future, Hill said.

Hill hopes to get together with Roberts to collaborate on other stories in the future that could be used in her other classes.

Roberts said the first story tells of her grandfather, who was a whale hunting man and knew a halibut as "shane with his brother."

The whale came under the water and came back up, pushing the halibut on to show that he got it and then he was gone, she said.

The show was a great success.

"Everybody really loved it," Roberts said, adding that the standing ovation for the students was the longest she's heard people clap.

The performance even brought tears to some people's eyes, she said.

She was impressed with how quickly the children learned the song and the story.

If her grandfather had been there to hear it, he would've been pleased with it, she said.

The stories came when Hill went to Kitamukham to elders. She wanted to learn to incorporate Tsimshian music into her class as part of her Masters thesis.

She met with Roberts, who gave her permission to use two whale stories — one account of her grandfather's and her son's encounter with killer whales, which also happens to be her family crest (Gwapwagwa).

The two women collaborated with a friend of Roberts', Melody Johnson, to write a story and the songs and to adapt it for Hill's classes.

A couple of weeks ago, Roberts held a feast for the students so they could perform the two stories for herself and the community of Kitamukham.



CONTRIBUTED PHOTO

GRADE FOUR students from Thornhill Elementary perform Two Whale Stories to crowd of 250 people including Kitamukham residents and the students' parents.

About 250 people showed up to watch the students and gave them a standing ovation, an appropriate reaction since this was their best performance, Hill says.

"Three times they seemed to take their roles as seriously as very seriously. That was by far their best performance," she said, adding the teachers who'd seen the other performances agreed it was the best staging of the two stories.

Hill found it to be a rewarding experience.

"As a teacher, I saw my students be engaged with the material they were performing in a way I haven't experienced many other times. They were engaged in every possible way, physically, socially, mentally," she said.

The performance was "quite a significant experience" for many of her students.

Afterward, she had them write a sentence about what they learned, a sentence about what surprised them and a sentence for any other comments.

Students' comments included saying they learned that First Nations are important, to respect all life and that humans can connect with whales and other animals.

Appendix J: Transcription Conventions

In the interview transcripts, I eliminated such filler words as “uh,” “ah,” “you know,” and “like.” I also eliminated back channel prompts on the part of the interviewer, including “wow,” “right,” “that’s great,” “very nice,” “mm-hm,” and “okay.”

In overlapping sentences, when both the interviewee and I began to speak at the same time, I eliminated the words that were the least audible; these were usually my own words, as the recorder’s internal microphone was usually pointed toward the person being interviewed. I have also eliminated words that are repeated when the repetition is not essential to the intended meaning; for example, “Did you want to talk about some of, some of the memories you have of the songs?” becomes “Did you want to talk about some of the memories you have of the songs?”

Symbol	Speaking convention symbol indicates
?	Raised vocal pitch indicating a question
... (ellipse)	Incomplete sentence, as when the voice trails off, or pause of two or more seconds
[bracketed words]	1. Word I could not understand; i.e. [inaudible] or word I was guessing at; or 2. Word omitted by interviewee, but necessary to meaning of sentence*
[Chuckles]	A quiet inward laugh
[Laughs]	A louder, outward laugh
[Laughter]	Both interviewer and interviewee laugh
<i>Italicized word</i>	Word given vocal stress to emphasize its importance**

*Example: “That money should go back to the area [of] that language or the culture.”

**Example: “It’s a *good* thing to bring this into our schools.”